A road less-travelled: Exploring management perspectives on camping movement and representation in the Waitaki and Mackenzie Districts, New Zealand

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Niamh Espiner

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Camping is an increasingly popular way for tourists to travel within New Zealand and around the world. Allowing tourists to save money, stay close to attractions, and maximise their flexibility of travel, camping provides a convenient accommodation option for domestic and international tourists alike. Although camping has occurred throughout human history, camping in the 21st century is evolving into an increasingly mobile phenomenon. As a result of the growing popularity of mobile forms of camping in New Zealand, campgrounds and communities across the country are being placed under considerable pressure during the summer months. There is evidence that this situation is causing tensions between local residents and tourists, and creating a plethora of management issues for local authorities and tourism organisations in New Zealand. While some of these tensions have been reported by the New Zealand news media, current scholarly work on camping is dominated by research documenting the experiences of the campers themselves, and fails to examine the perspectives of local stakeholders. Camping research has also been biased towards place-based theories, and has largely overlooked the mobile nature of camping in New Zealand today. Consequently, the current study applies a mobilities perspective to camping using qualitative interviews (n=17) with local tourism organisations, councils, and other camping managers in the Mackenzie Basin and Waitaki Valley of the South Island of New Zealand. By employing Cresswell (2010)'s mobilities concepts of movement and representation, a number of political tensions and perceptions about camping in the case

study area were unearthed. These included the perception of campers as a non-homogenous group, the tendency for camping managers to perceive camper movement differently based on factors such as self-containment and vehicle-type, and the imbalance in terms of the speed of information movement between various camping stakeholders. Further qualitative analysis of these factors suggests that larger-scale change to the fundamental approach to camping management—from regional to national, and from static to mobile—is needed in order for communities and campers alike to effectively and sustainably continue to enjoy camping in New Zealand. This research contributes to the mobilities literature through the unique application of Cresswell's concepts to camping in the Mackenzie Basin and Waitaki Valley, and also to the currently limited understandings of camping in New Zealand. A wider implication of this research is that it may be applied to enable government, councils, and tourism stakeholders to form management solutions which allow tourism and mobile camping to prosper, while mitigating any negative effects on communities.

Keywords: Camping, mobile camping, freedom camping, tourism, outdoor recreation, mobilities, representation, movement qualitative interviews, Mackenzie Basin, Waitaki Valley, New Zealand.

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Ehara taku toa, he takitahi, he toa takitini
My success is not that of an individual, but that of many
(Māori whakatauki/proverb)

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Camping—or setting up temporary residence away from one's home for leisure—has been a popular pastime as well as a desirable travel option in New Zealand and around the world for many years (Hassell, Moore, & Macbeth, 2015). An experience quite the opposite of most aspects of modern life—camping represents an escape from the constraints, expectations, and responsibilities of modern living. Its benefits include flexibility and relaxation of schedules, improved social connectedness, restoration through time spent in 'natural' landscapes, and a variety of other personal, social, and health benefits (Collins & Kearns, 2010; Hassell et al., 2015). Further to this, camping allows tourists to save money on accommodation, stay close to attractions, and maximise their flexibility of travel—which are all highly sought features of tourist accommodation in the 21st century (Collins & Kearns, 2010; Collins, Kearns, Bates, & Serjeant, 2017).

As the popularity of camping has increased, campgrounds across New Zealand—particularly those located in areas of high natural amenity—have been placed under considerable tourism pressure over the summer camping season (Fieger, Prayag, Hall, & North, 2019; Keenan, 2012; Responsible Camping Working Group, 2018). Furthermore, due to the sensitive natural environments and low resident population-density of many tourism areas in New Zealand, the impact of camping on communities and the environment has become a cause of concern across New Zealand. In particular, mobile forms of camping including freedom camping—or camping on public land for little or no cost—have attracted negative attention. This is especially evident in the New Zealand news media, where a series of headlines in recent years describe freedom campers variously as "out of control", "illegal", "arrogant and disrespectful" and "pests" (Bradley, 2019; du Fresne, 2016; Peacock, 2019; Williams, 2019).

Despite the increasing popularity of mobile camping and the subsequent negative attention in the media, academic research on mobile camping is limited. The limited research that exists on camping to date tends to be dominated by the perspectives of the campers themselves. Meanwhile, the supply side of camping tourism—including private sector campground owners, regional and district councils, regional tourism organisations (RTOs),

and the Department of Conservation (DOC)—is largely neglected. This gap in the literature is a problem for the formation of camping management solutions, as these key camping stakeholders may be able to provide valuable insights about the issues and solutions for camping management in New Zealand. Furthermore, definitions of camping in New Zealand are currently contested. There is disagreement between the literature, the legislation, and the New Zealand media as to what constitutes different forms of camping – particularly when it comes to freedom camping. Thus, the evolving structure and nature of camping in New Zealand is not well understood. Finally, research on camping in New Zealand to date has been biased towards place-based theories, focussing on the strong attachments between people and campgrounds (Collins & Kearns, 2010; Department of Conservation, 2006). However, camping is also a mobile phenomenon – with some campers moving between sites daily (Angus & Associates, 2017). Thus, using a mobilities approach as a theoretical base—which focusses less on place, and more on movement and its associated meanings (Allis, 2017; Cresswell, 2010)—has capacity to address this gap in the literature. Consequently, this research aims to contribute to the limited literature on how camping is changing in New Zealand by using a mobilities approach to explore stakeholder perspectives on the increasingly mobile nature of camping today.

1.1 The research approach and value

In order to freely investigate this relatively uncharted field, a qualitative approach was taken to enable flexibility and exploration of emergent themes. The research was structured around three central themes of enquiry: how camping is changing in New Zealand; how a mobilities perspective could be applied to camping in New Zealand today; and how the application of a mobilities perspective to camping could enable policy and planning solutions to camping management issues. The method involved qualitative interviews seeking perspectives on camping with local tourism organisations, councils, and other key stakeholders in the Waitaki Valley and Mackenzie Basin of the South Island of New Zealand. This area is a popular international and domestic tourism and camping destination, and represents an area of considerable growth for tourism in New Zealand (Hutchings & Logan, 2018). The interviews were transcribed and analysed using Blumer (1969)'s method of 'inspection'—which allows data to be explored from many angles and take new directions. This approach facilitated the formation of a number of interesting insights concerning the movement and understandings of campers in the case study area, and a series of

suggestions for future research and policy and planning in New Zealand. A wider implication of this research is that it may assist government, councils, and camping stakeholders to form sustainable and strategic management solutions which allow tourism to prosper, while mitigating any negative effects on communities.

1.2 Structure of the thesis

The research thesis is made up of seven chapters in total. Following this introductory chapter, a review of the literature relevant to the research topic is presented in Chapter 2. This literature includes academic research on camping in New Zealand and internationally, and a brief overview of mobilities research. Following the literature review, the gap in the literature which the present research will address is identified.

Chapter 3 explains the method which was employed for the research. This includes in-depth descriptions of the planning process, the data-collection procedures, and the analytical approach. Additionally, reflections on the qualitative interviewing techniques used, and acknowledgements of positionality are made.

Chapter 4 is an introduction and contextual overview to the case study area, the Mackenzie Basin and Waitaki Valley. This includes a justification of how the case study area was chosen, as well as a brief summary of research on tourism in the Mackenzie and Waitaki Districts. Chapter 4 also provides an additional layer of context to the case study area by presenting the results of campground data collected during the fieldwork and some interpretation of secondary data about camping in the Mackenzie and Waitaki Districts. The aim of the chapter is to familiarise the reader with the case study area, in order to aid understanding of the results and discussion. This understanding is particularly important in qualitative research, which is case-specific.

Chapters 5 and 6 describe and discuss the results of the qualitative interviews with camping managers. Chapter 5 discusses how campers were understood by the camping managers, with Chapter 6 describing how campers and camping information were perceived to move through time and space using Cresswell (2010)'s mobilities concepts of representation and movement.

Finally, Chapter 7 is a concluding discussion of the results presented across the thesis. This chapter returns to the research questions to discuss how camping is changing in New Zealand, and how a mobilities approach can enable the formation of camping management solutions for camping policy and planning in New Zealand. Chapter 7 also provides some potential limitations of the present research, and suggestions for future research.


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Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The academic literature on camping in New Zealand is limited. Nonetheless, the relevant research is presented and discussed in this chapter, alongside literature on camping from around the world. This includes research on the origins, culture, and benefits of camping, as well as previous conceptualisations of camping. Following this review of camping literature, the mobilities approach is discussed in relation to camping, and the gap in the literature which will be addressed in the present research is identified. The first section will discuss the origins of camping in New Zealand and across the world.

2.2 Origins of camping

Although the phenomenon of camping for recreation is widespread throughout human history, the early 20th century saw camping becoming widely popularised in New Zealand and around the world (Østby, 2014). Before it became a common leisure pursuit, camping was simply a convenient form of accommodation for outdoor recreationists, such as hunters (Department of Conservation, 2006). This manner of camping was purely functional in purpose, very basic in form, and completely self-sufficient (Department of Conservation, 2006).

However, due to processes such as urbanisation and industrialisation, camping quickly gained popularity as a form of leisure from the 1920s onwards (Østby, 2014). As rapid urbanisation funnelled the population into the rhythms of urban schedules, people became bound by the working week—consisting of daily timetables, minimal exposure to 'natural' landscapes, and little contact with those outside of one's social circles (Collins & Kearns, 2010). Along with urbanisation and the emergence of the working week, industrialisation increased both personal income and leisure time significantly, which in turn led to a rise in the demand for outdoor recreation (Campion & Stephenson, 2010). Consequently, many city-dwellers sought to break out of this cycle of urban life by escaping to the countryside and coastlines to camp on the weekends—aided by the new-found mobility of the motor-car (Leivestad, 2018; Østby, 2014). As Østby (2014) states,

> *Like the car, camping was a glimpse of the 'sweet life'…Even if camping as such was not entirely new, the scope and intensity of the post-war version of car camping became a new way of seeing, doing and organizing leisure. (p.287-288)*

In New Zealand, this form of camping was largely unregulated and usually took place along the coastlines in the summer (Collins & Kearns, 2010). The simplicity of this form of freedom camping is often romanticised; for example Collins and Kearns (2010) state that "enjoying the recreational benefits of a stay at the beachfront involved little more than selecting a desirable location, parking one's vehicle, and setting up camp" (p.61).

2.2.1 Commercialisation of camping

As camping became more popular, romanticism gave way to a number of management issues, and a need for regulated camping areas emerged. From the 1950s onwards, formal commercial campgrounds began to open due to increasing recreational popularity of coastal areas, coastal residential development, and rising public health concerns about camping (Collins & Kearns, 2010). These formal campgrounds included campground managers and basic facilities in exchange for payment. At the same time, in New Zealand a group of passionate motorhome users—known as the New Zealand Motor Caravan Association (NZMCA)—was formed to advance and protect the interests of motorhome enthusiasts to continue freedom camping. As a result of increasing numbers and subsequent management regulation, the original 'freedom camping' became almost completely restricted in New Zealand—despite the protests of the NZMCA (Green, 2013). Nonetheless, this did not decrease the popularity of camping in New Zealand—which had become a staple of 'kiwi culture' (Collins & Kearns, 2010).

Towards the end of the 20th century, campgrounds began to upgrade their offerings. As commercial campgrounds began to compete for the capital of the increasing camping market, many opted to expand their amenities to make camping accessible for new customers (Brooker & Joppe, 2014; Collins & Kearns, 2010). Standard campgrounds began to offer laundry rooms, kitchens, hot showers and playgrounds—while high-end campgrounds developed cafes, water parks, and even sports and wellness facilities such as spa and massage (Brooker & Joppe, 2014; Collins & Kearns, 2010). The reaction to this in New Zealand was mixed; while campgrounds and holiday parks continue to grow faster than any other form of accommodation (Angus & Associates, 2017), so too does the demand for

"back-to-basics" camping—often described as 'freedom camping' (Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, 2019a).

2.2.2 Freedom camping in New Zealand

Described variously across the world as 'boondocking' (America); 'motor camping', 'wild camping' or 'off-site camping' (United Kingdom); and 'allesmansratten' (Sweden)—freedom camping is a term which is mostly used in Australia and New Zealand (Caldicott, Jenkins, & Scherrer, 2018). An increasingly popular form of accommodation in New Zealand, freedom camping has been defined in a number of ways across legislation and literature (Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, 2019a). Furthermore, in 2018 the Responsible Camping Working Group was established to evaluate the role of freedom camping and identify potential management solutions (Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, 2020). The group has since attempted to re-label the activity as 'responsible camping' in order to reduce negative connotations around the term, however this arguably only contributes to the confusion surrounding the term. Thus, for the purposes of this literature review, the New Zealand Government's Freedom Camping Act 2011 (2011) definition will be employed. The Freedom Camping Act 2011 states that freedom camping is camping in a tent, temporary structure, or motor vehicle in an area other than a campground within 200 metres of a motor vehicle accessible area, sea or harbour, or Great Walks Track. Freedom camping is permitted on any area of Department of Conservation (DOC) land or council land unless it is specified as restricted or prohibited in that area (New Zealand Government, 2011).

Although the Freedom Camping Act 2011 does not allow local councils to absolutely prohibit freedom camping in a district, it does allow local councils to create bylaws which protect certain areas from freedom camping, and allocate fines up to $200 for breaches (New Zealand Government, 2011). The intention behind this was to give councils and communities the power to manage freedom camping in a way which is appropriate for each district (Keenan, 2012). Some district council bylaws specify that vehicles must be self-contained in order to freedom camp in the district. A self-contained vehicle is one in which a camper can be self-sufficient for three days—with a toilet, fresh water, waste-water storage and a rubbish bin with a lid on-board (Standards New Zealand, 2011). In order for a vehicle to be certified self-contained, it must pass a check from a registered plumber or gasfitter and be

allocated with a sticker of certification—a blue sticker displayed on the back of the vehicle (Standards New Zealand, 2011).

Freedom camping re-emerged as a desirable form of accommodation in New Zealand as a reaction to both the increasing commercialisation and cost of campgrounds, and the availability of motorhomes requiring few or no facilities (Caldicott, Scherrer, & Jenkins, 2014; Collins & Kearns, 2010). Additionally, campers sought the flexibility inherent in freedom camping, which allowed them to experience the much desired touristic feelings of autonomy and adventure (Jacobsen, 2004; Mikkelsen & Cohen, 2015). Research on freedom campers in New Zealand to date concludes that they primarily come from New Zealand, Australia, and Germany; stay in non-self-contained vehicles; and move regularly between sites, including occasionally opting to stay at commercial sites (Angus & Associates, 2017; Keenan, 2012; Queenstown Lakes District Council, 2018; Selwyn District Council, 2017). Data from the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment also suggest that the number of freedom camping tourists may be on the rise, with 110,000 tourists engaging in freedom camping in the year 2017—almost double the number of tourists freedom camping in 2015 (Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, 2019a). However, the increasing popularity of freedom camping among both domestic and international tourists has recently become a source of conflict for the New Zealand public, due to the perceived negative impacts of freedom camping on communities and the environment (Angus & Associates, 2017; Collins et al., 2017; Department of Internal Affairs, 2016; Fieger et al., 2019; Selwyn District Council, 2017).

The social and environmental issues associated with freedom camping in New Zealand have been discussed in the literature and the New Zealand media since as early as the 1980s. In 1988, the Ministry for the Environment released a report titled “Freedom Camping: The Problem of Human Waste Disposal”, which assessed the extent of the issue of human waste pollution from freedom camping in New Zealand. The Minister for Environment (MfE) at the time, Geoffrey Palmer, expressed concern in the report:

> *The freedom to camp on public land, riversides and beaches is a valued aspect of the New Zealand way of life. But as more overseas tourists join the growing throng who want to enjoy our splendid scenery, the impact on the environment is causing concern. (Ministry for the Environment, 1988, p. i)*

The MfE report points to several potential threats from freedom camping on the environment, including increasing numbers of tourists with insufficient waste-dumping sites, and poor enforcement of bylaws (Ministry for the Environment, 1988). Despite thirty years having passed since this report was released, these issues are still prevalent in New Zealand today (Department of Internal Affairs, 2016; Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, 2019).

This conflict was further exacerbated by the government's decision to create council-run freedom camping sites in preparation for an expected influx of freedom camping tourists for the Rugby World Cup in 2011 (Green, 2013; Responsible Camping Working Group, 2018). The government's intention was that the designated freedom camping areas would allow local councils to safeguard areas for protection from freedom camping by directing camping to the designated sites (Keenan, 2012). However, the reaction of the public to the sites has in many cases been significantly less positive—with local commercial campground managers complaining over lost revenue, and local residents protesting about the perceived impacts of the practice on environment and infrastructure (Collins et al., 2017; Keenan, 2012; Selwyn District Council, 2017). Consequently, local councils are now trialling a different approach to mitigate issues at these sites, which involves the employment of 'camping ambassadors' over the summer season to educate and communicate with campers about local issues and attractions (Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, 2019b).

Various mobile camping applications such as CamperMate (Figure 1) and Rankers have also attempted to target this market of freedom campers by enabling campers to more easily find facilities and campgrounds. The limited research on these applications suggests a high degree of engagement among freedom campers (Selwyn District Council, 2017). This is clear in a 2017 Selwyn District Council survey on freedom campers, in which 71% of respondents indicated that mobile applications (such as CamperMate, Rankers, and the NZMCA application) were their primary source of information about accommodation in the area (Selwyn District Council, 2017).

Despite the popularity of mobile applications among freedom campers, the impacts of mobile camping application use in New Zealand remain unknown. Tourism research across the world has recently begun to investigate the role of mobile technology such as smartphones and mobile applications in tourism (Dickinson et al., 2014; Dickinson, Hibbert, & Filimonau, 2016; Gardner & Harfield, 2014; Tan, 2017; Tribe & Mkono, 2017; Wang &

Fesenmaier, 2013; Wang, Park, & Fesenmaier, 2012). While some research in this area discusses the potential of mobile technology to enhance the experience of tourists (Dickinson et al., 2014; Gardner & Harfield, 2014; Tan, 2017; Wang & Fesenmaier, 2013; Wang et al., 2012), others suggest that the impact of mobile technology on tourism may not be so positive (Dickinson et al., 2016; Tan, 2017; Tribe & Mkono, 2017). While comparable academic research has not been conducted in New Zealand, the New Zealand news media has criticised mobile camping applications for publicising local campgrounds to tourists, and marking the "end of quiet campsites" for New Zealanders (Morris, 2016). Similarly, businesses providing commercial facilities for campers such as KiwiCamp— a business providing user-pays facilities for campers across New Zealand—have received opposition from local campgrounds (Cropp, 2019).

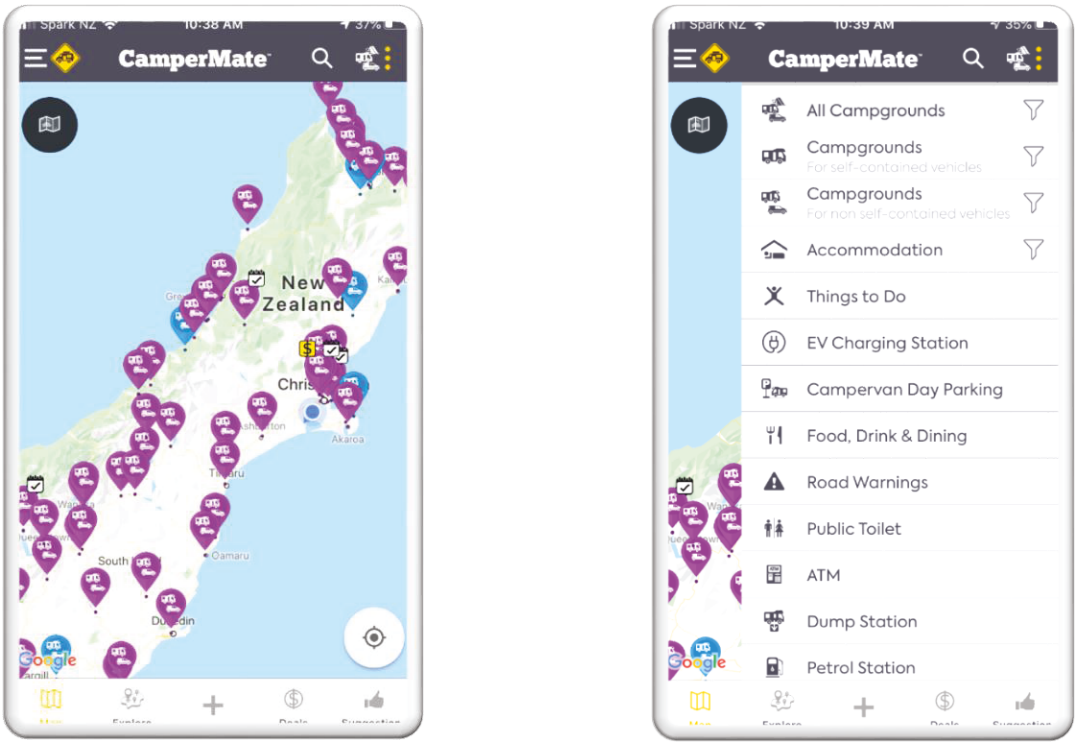

Figure 1: The mobile application 'CamperMate'

Despite these negative portrayals in the New Zealand media of mobile camping applications displacing New Zealanders in favour of "dirty" and "freeloading" international tourists (Fieger et al., 2019; Selwyn District Council, 2017), the activity is still popular among New Zealanders. In fact, a Selwyn District Council (SDC) report suggested that the term "freedom camper" has been "hijacked" as a meaning for young, irresponsible campers who camp

cheaply in non-self-contained vehicles (Selwyn District Council, 2017). In opposition to this common perception of freedom campers, the SDC survey found that 16 percent of freedom campers in Selwyn were domestic campers—who were likely to be over 30 years old and motivated to camp in Selwyn for the fishing opportunities and nature experience, rather than the affordability (Selwyn District Council, 2017). Furthermore, the NZMCA is a group which is mostly made up of New Zealand residents (financial members of selected kindred clubs from overseas can also join) who primarily freedom camp in motorhomes and vehicles. Since its formation in 1956, the NZMCA has grown from 10,000 members in 1995, to an impressive 91,000 members in 2019 (Green, 2013; New Zealand Motor Caravan Association Inc, 2019). Such a significant increase in a relatively short period of time suggests considerable interest in freedom camping and mobile camping among New Zealanders. The negative perceptions of freedom camping in New Zealand represent a threat to the NZMCA—who vouch for the rights of their members to freedom camp across the country—particularly as local bylaws begin to tighten and increasingly restrict freedom camping in New Zealand (Green, 2013). Green's research on single senior motorhome drivers—or 'movanners'—suggests that NZMCA members are aware of this threat and willing to fight for their right to freedom camp in New Zealand (Green, 2013). Green recounts several stories of the seniors resisting local authorities' attempts to prevent campers from stopping—including pulling down a 'no-parking' sign in Auckland and throwing it in the sea, and taking a chain-saw to timber bollards preventing access to a popular site in Northland (Green, 2013).

2.3 Culture of camping

The NZMCA members' sense of camping as a defendable right is not unique, however. In New Zealand, camping—particularly on lakesides, riversides and coastlines—is a sparsely documented yet deeply valued facet of life (Department of Conservation, 2006; Department of Internal Affairs, 2016; Ministry for the Environment, 1988; Selwyn District Council, 2017). Widely regarded as a sort of 'birth-right' for those who live in New Zealand, camping has been enjoyed by generations of New Zealanders for over a century (Campion & Stephenson, 2010; Collins & Kearns, 2010; Selwyn District Council, 2017). As described in the 2006 report by the Department of Conservation (DOC), the demand for domestic camping in New

Zealand has been consistently high since it was first popularised in the 1950s. Furthermore, the popularity of the activity continues to increase throughout New Zealand, despite the closure of a number of coastal campgrounds due to increasing land values, and the availability of a multitude of alternative forms of accommodation (Collins & Kearns, 2010; Department of Conservation, 2006). This enthusiasm for camping is also evident in the strong support for camping published in the Department of Conservation review—in which 80% of New Zealanders reported that they had been camping at some point in the past, and 91% considered the continued access to camping areas as "extremely important" or "important" (Department of Conservation, 2006). In a more recent scholarly paper by Collins and Kearns (2010), camping's persistent popularity is tied to it being a 'kiwi tradition', closely linked to family values, and now "deeply embedded in the New Zealand psyche" (p. 62).

A number of papers have also discussed this cultural enjoyment of camping across the Western world. In Sweden for example—a nation which is reported to have the most caravans per capita in Europe—Leivestad (2018)'s research titled 'Caravan Cultures' found a distinct culture among Swedish caravanners, which includes the idea of caravans as second-homes, but also as symbols of freedom and mobility. Leivestad (2018) emphasises the strong culture around camping in Sweden by describing a number of Swedish television 'docu-dramas' which focus on summer camping and the culture which exists in the campgrounds. Similar notions of love for camping have also been reported in the United Kingdom (Steer-Fowler & Brunt, 2018), Portugal (Dias & Domingues, 2018), Denmark (Mikkelsen & Cohen, 2015), Norway (Østby, 2014), the United States (Garst, Williams, & Roggenbuck, 2009; Onyx & Leonard, 2005) and Australia (Caldicott et al., 2018; Caldicott et al., 2014; Onyx & Leonard, 2005; Prideaux & McClymont, 2006)—where Caldicott, Jenkins and Scherrer (2018) describe camping as "an Australian tradition" and "a well-entrenched culture" (p.319).

Consequently, camping is enjoyed in New Zealand and across the globe—with literature documenting cultural attachments to the activity in a variety of Western countries. Similarly, a substantial body of research addresses the motivations and benefits of camping, which will be discussed in the following section.

2.4 Benefits of camping

Beyond the cultural significance of camping, the activity is reported to have a wide array of other benefits which may contribute to its increasing popularity in New Zealand and around the world (Collins & Kearns, 2010; Department of Conservation, 2006; Garst et al., 2009; Hassell et al., 2015). Other than the obvious benefit of affordability, the three most commonly cited benefits of camping as a form of recreation include personal, social, and health benefits. The improvements in physical and mental health are thought to derive partly from the close contact with the natural environment leading to stress reduction (Hassell et al., 2015). This rehabilitated mental state is often presumed to be a result of campers being able to "reconnect with nature", with Hassel et al. (2015) even suggesting this may be an instinctual "biophilic" human need (Collins & Kearns, 2010; Kearns, Collins, & Bates, 2016; Responsible Camping Working Group, 2018; Wilson, 1984). In simpler terms, Brooker and Joppe (2014) attribute the decreased stress levels from camping to natural settings facilitating "rest, relaxation, and rejuvenation" (2014). As Hassel et al. (2015) explain:

> *Camping is far more than an inexpensive holiday close to nature; it rekindles the human relationship with the natural environment and serves as a conduit for beneficial and meaningful experiences to occur that have positive impacts on campers' lives. (p. 283)*

In a similar vein, it has also been suggested that the ability to escape from the constraints and pressures of modern society through camping may contribute to improved mental health and other personal benefits. Collins and Kearns (2010) posit that this is due to camping providing the opposite experience to urban life – such as flexible schedules, natural surroundings, and few rules or constraints. An early attempt to conceptualise this phenomenon by Burch (1969) termed this 'compensatory leisure'—where the leisure activity is chosen based on its dissimilarities with one's work. This is in contrast to familiarity leisure—which is similar to one's work—and personal community leisure—which is based on the leisure choices of friends and family (Burch, 1969). Similarly, Hassel et al. (2015) contend that camping gives people the opportunity to refresh and recreate themselves away from responsibilities and expectations. This is in line with a wide body of work that has examined the benefits of outdoor recreation and tourism—including Cohen (1979)'s propositions of tourism as a way to restore wellbeing; Driver, Brown and Peterson (1991)'s findings on the

many personal benefits of leisure; and Manning (2011)'s exploration of benefits in outdoor recreation.

Finally, strengthening social relationships is often described by campers as a key benefit of camping (Collins & Kearns, 2010; Department of Conservation, 2006). In the Department of Conservation's 2006 review of camping opportunities in New Zealand, 98.6% of respondents reported that they go camping with family and friends. Furthermore, the campers identified spending quality time with family as being one of only a few predominant reasons for going camping in the first place (Department of Conservation, 2006). Garst et al. (2009)'s study of meanings attributed to camping also found that improved family functioning was a major theme in the responses. Families felt that being confined to the same space for multiple days without the distractions of their home lives brought their families closer together through shared experience (Garst et al., 2009). Furthermore, Freeman and Kearns' (2014) study of 69 families camping in New Zealand found that the social capital present in campgrounds enabled parents to adopt a more 'hands-off' parenting style, which encouraged a sense of adventure, freedom, and autonomy in their children (Freeman & Kearns, 2015). Consequently, a variety of research on social relationships and camping has concluded that camping has a positive impact on relationships with family and friends.

Furthermore, camping not only allows existing social groups such as families and friends to connect with one another, but is also reported to facilitate social interaction between campers outside of existing social circles (Collins & Kearns, 2010; Department of Conservation, 2006; Prideaux & McClymont, 2006). Green (2013)'s research on movanners found that the group of aging New Zealanders was able to create a mutually beneficial network of social capital and connections as a result of their shared activity and membership in the NZMCA. Similarly, Prideaux and McClymont (2006) report that caravanners in Australia see themselves not simply as individual travellers, but as part of a caravan community – with the potential to make friends with others in the community as an important factor motivating involvement with the activity. As Kearns (1999) describes: "life under canvas is a great leveller; there is a mutual awareness of others' lives that is rarely possible in urban life"(p. 173). The Department of Conservation has also identified socialising with other campers as a commonly reported benefit of camping (Department of Conservation, 2006). Both the Department of Conservation (2006) report and Green (2013)'s research found that campers felt a sense of common purpose and camaraderie with other

campers, allowing social barriers to be broken down and friendships forged over shared experiences. This lowering of social barriers is also reflected in the findings of Mikkelson and Cohen (2015)—in which one participant reported that he and his wife camp next to their neighbours from home, with whom they socialise while camping, but not while at home. As such, the social benefits of camping are clearly considered a key benefit of the activity. The following section will discuss how camping has been understood and conceptualised in the academic literature.

2.5 Conceptualising camping

Throughout the history of camping—from the hunters and gatherers, to the family holiday-makers, to the digitally-dependent freedom-campers—there have been a number of typologies and attempts to classify the forms of camping activity. Early research on understanding campers focussed on camper satisfaction, behaviour, and motivations (Bultena & Klessig, 1969; Burch, 1969; Dorfman, 1979). More recently, research has focussed on grouping campers into typologies, or examining one specific group of campers. In particular, research has focussed on senior motorhome users—described variously as 'Grey Nomads' (Brooker & Joppe, 2013; Brooker & Joppe, 2014; Caldicott et al., 2014; Onyx & Leonard, 2005; Selwyn District Council, 2017), 'Empty-Nesters' (Prideaux & McClymont, 2006), 'Snowbirds' (Brooker & Joppe, 2013; Brooker & Joppe, 2014; Onyx & Leonard, 2005; Viallon, 2012) and 'Movanners' (Green, 2013). In New Zealand, data about this group of senior domestic campers are also collected by the NZMCA—who use the data to understand their members and improve membership experience (New Zealand Motor Caravan Association Inc, 2020). Other groups of focus include family campers (Brooker & Joppe, 2013; Brooker & Joppe, 2014; Collins & Kearns, 2010; Department of Conservation, 2006; Freeman & Kearns, 2015; Garst et al., 2009; Hassell et al., 2015; Østby, 2014), 'freedom campers' (Caldicott et al., 2014; Collins et al., 2017; Department of Internal Affairs, 2016; Fieger et al., 2019; Kearns et al., 2016; Keenan, 2012; Queenstown Lakes District Council, 2018; Responsible Camping Working Group, 2018; Selwyn District Council, 2017) and caravanners (Hall & Müller, 2018a; Leivestad, 2018; Mikkelsen & Cohen, 2015; Prideaux & McClymont, 2006; Steer-Fowler & Brunt, 2018).

Steer-Fowler and Brunt (2018)'s research on caravanners in the United Kingdom created a typology within the caravanning group of campers. This typology is based on a cross-section on which caravanners can be placed based on two dimensions: their degree of engagement with camping and their socio-economic status (Figure 2). The cross-section describes four types of caravanners: materialists, who are wealthy enough to own a caravan but have a low interest in camping; enthusiasts, who have limited financial means but high interest in camping; pragmatists, who are relatively low in both factors, but own a caravan for practical purposes; and devotees, who are both wealthy and passionate about camping.

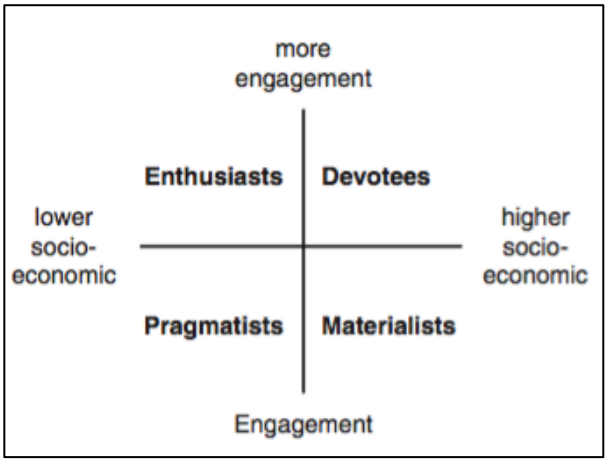

Figure 2: Cross-sectional caravanner typology (Steer-Fowler & Brunt, 2018)

A number of recent publications have also attempted to identify sub-groups within the freedom camping group of campers. The Department of Internal Affairs' 2016 report on freedom camping identified five primary typologies of freedom campers: grey nomads and families, domestic visitors, seasonal/temporary workers, international visitors and the rough-sleeping community (Department of Internal Affairs, 2016). This typology was then used by the Selwyn District Council to study freedom campers in Selwyn (Selwyn District Council, 2017). Similarly, the Queenstown Lakes District Council's Responsible Camping Strategy identifies six group of campers: three of which are domestic campers (grey nomads, free independent duos, and family campers) and three of which are international campers (free roamers, independent tourists, and touring families). Consequently, there is clearly a desire from government and councils to better understand and differentiate between groups of campers. As the Queenstown Lakes District report explains: "We cannot treat all campers alike. Different groups have different needs, expectations, mindsets, skills and

equipment. Solutions to camping issues require specific responses targeted at each user group" (Queenstown Lakes District Council, 2018, p. 3).

2.5.1 Theorising camping

While some have tried to understand camping by arranging campers into groups, others have attempted to link camping to theory. In the past, camping in New Zealand has been linked with the theory of place-attachment (Collins & Kearns, 2010; Department of Conservation, 2006). Place attachment is a theory for understanding the affective links—including emotions, beliefs, experiences, and behaviours—between people and places (Altman & Low, 1992; Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Williams, Patterson, Roggenbuck, & Watson, 1992; Yi-Fu, 1974). In camping research, place attachment has been used to emphasise the strong connections with and "emotional geographies" of campgrounds for recreational campers in New Zealand (Collins & Kearns, 2010; Department of Conservation, 2006). Collins and Kearns (2010) argue that place attachment with campgrounds in New Zealand is fostered through the association of the campground with national identity (Collins & Kearns, 2010). DOC's 2006 report on recreational camping describes similarly strong connections between domestic campers and campgrounds in New Zealand:

> *These locations are often considered to be a 'second home', a place where the camper feels as strong a connection as in their real home…Many New Zealand families grow up alongside each other at camping areas spending their summer holidays camping at the same site next to the same family. What develops is a real sense of community and shared 'ownership' of these camping areas. (Department of Conservation, 2006, p. 34)*

While place-attachment theory may be a powerful lens for understanding one form of camping in New Zealand—which involves annually returning domestic campers—camping in New Zealand today is a much more complex and potentially less place-based phenomenon. A fitting example of this is freedom camping, in which tourists will often camp in a different area or region each night (Angus & Associates, 2017). This is in line with Hannam (2018), who argues that while tourism research in the past has tended to study specific destinations, locations or boundaries, it is important to think of tourism as the *movement* of people through time and multiple interconnected spaces and places. Based on this rethinking of

camping in New Zealand as nomadic rather than place-based, an appropriate way of framing the study of camping in New Zealand would be to employ a mobilities approach.

As transportation technologies become more advanced—such as the ability to instantly distribute information across the globe through the internet—it is not uncommon to feel that "[a]ll the world seems to be on the move" (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 207). As a product of this "mobile lifestyle"—as Duncan (2012) terms it—a myriad of networks of movement and non-movement with complex social meanings have formed beneath the surface. The mobilities paradigm is a perspective for understanding this frequent movement of people, things, and ideas across time and space (Duncan, 2012; Sheller & Urry, 2006). In order to explain this concept of mobilities, Cresswell (2010) compares the relationship between mobilities and movement as similar to that between place and location. That is to say, while a *location* might be a street address or a geographical point on a map, a *place* is made up of the personal meanings and experiences which are attached to that location (Withers, 2009). Similarly, while movement is the "raw material for the production of mobility" (Cresswell, 2010, p. 19), understanding how people or things move does not tell us about the meanings or the embodied experience of this movement. In the same vein, Duncan (2012) defines mobilities as "movement made meaningful" (p. 114), and Adey states that "mobility is movement imbued with meaning" (Adey, 2017, p. 34). As such, a mobilities perspective allows us to "discard our usual notions of spatiality and scale" (Hannam, 2009, p. 109) and understand movement as more than a practical relocation from 'A' to 'B', but as a journey tightly bound up with networks of meaning.

The mobilities paradigm emerges from arguments that research in the social sciences has tended to be "static" and has largely ignored phenomena of movement—such as migration, nomadic lifestyles, and tourism (Duncan, 2012; Sheller & Urry, 2006). Cresswell (2010) argues that although the social sciences have considered these topics, the focus has still been place-based—such as migration theory, which considers the push and pull factors of places, rather than the movement itself. As Cresswell (2010) states, before the emergence of the new mobilities paradigm, theories of movement "were rarely actually about mobility but rather took human movement as a given—an empty space that needed to be expunged or limited" (p. 18). In order to address these issues, Cresswell (2010) suggests a framework for breaking mobility down into three factors: movement, representation, and practice. These factors describe the physical shift from one place to another (movement), the meanings

ascribed to that movement (representation), and the embodied experience of that movement (practice). Similar to Blumer (1969)'s research approach for inspecting data, framing movement using Cresswell (2010)'s mobilities concepts allows for the close examination of each factor, and thus the revelation of new meanings and ideas.

Tourism is a prime example of a researched phenomenon which has frequently been criticised in the mobilities literature for being too static (Hannam, 2018). This is due to tourism studies often investigating tourism management in specific destinations, while overlooking the nature of tourism as fluid and part of a wider network of movement (Hall & Müller, 2018a; Hannam, 2018). However, there are now a growing number of instances of the mobilities paradigm being applied to tourism research. For example, the importance of automobility to tourism has been theorised from a mobilities perspective to unpick the social meanings of the car as a mode of tourism transport (Hannam, 2018). Applying the mobilities paradigm to this phenomenon revealed that the car not only allows tourists to choose and control the speed, the route, and the destination of their travel, but it evokes feelings of freedom and opportunity—which are vital assets to the tourist experience (Allis, 2017; Hannam, 2018; Mikkelsen & Cohen, 2015). Applications of a mobilities framework such as this demonstrate how the same framework might be applied to understand camping tourism. Construing camping as an at least partly mobile phenomenon—due to the camping experience being closely tied to the transport experience through the rising popularity of vehicle-based camping, such as retro-fitted cars, bicycles, campervans and caravans—a mobilities framework could be highly relevant to the study of camping tourism.

This link between mobile camping and mobilities is evident in the 2018 publication of the Routledge Handbook of Second Home Tourism and Mobilities (Hall & Müller, 2018b), which devotes several chapters to caravanning and mobile second homes. Employing a mobilities perspective allowed the authors to understand the culture of caravanning in Sweden (Leivestad, 2018); the 'space-attachment' of caravan-owners in the United Kingdom (Steer-Fowler & Brunt, 2018); the politics of living in mobile second or first homes across the globe (Caldicott et al., 2018); and the movements, meanings and practices of senior motorhome users in Portugal (Dias & Domingues, 2018). Dias and Domingues' study in particular used Cresswell (2010)'s concepts of movement, representation, and practice to determine how the campers move, the meanings the campers attach to motorhome tourism, and the push and pull factors driving participation in motorhome tourism (Dias & Domingues, 2018).

Consequently, these recent applications of a mobilities approach to mobile tourism have unearthed a variety of meanings and ideas which otherwise may have been left buried in assumptions of fixity and place.

Another aspect of the mobilities framework which makes it pertinent to the topic of camping tourism is the underlying idea that tourism transport can be more than simply a practical means of arriving at a destination. That is to say, the experience of transport—the 'way', vehicle, power, and terminal (Allis, 2017)—may play a fundamental role in the movement, meaning, and management of tourism (Hannam, 2018). As Hannam (2018) explains, the form of transport can determine the tourists' proximity to attractions, how they encounter (feel, hear or smell) attractions, as well as how they interpret the attractions. While camping research in the past may have largely focussed on the significance of place to tourists and camping management, a mobilities perspective would suggest that how a tourist moves through space may also be significant to camping management. Therefore, applying a mobilities perspective to camping tourism—which recognises the significant contribution of transport to the tourism experience and thus to tourism management—may bring to light the meanings of camping as a form of mobile tourism in New Zealand.

2.6 Identifying a gap in the literature: Camping mobilities in New Zealand

Camping in New Zealand is an increasingly mobile phenomenon which does not necessarily fit with current conceptualisations of camping. This is evident in the substantial (79%) increase in campervan hires in New Zealand between 2012 and 2015, and the 20% increase in NZMCA membership in a similar period (Angus & Associates, 2017). Based on this clear trend toward mobile forms of camping in New Zealand, this study will focus on perspectives on mobile front-country camping in New Zealand. Although not a widely-used term in New Zealand, 'front-country' was used in DOC's 1996 Visitor Strategy to describe car-accessible recreation requiring a low level of skill—which is distinct from back-country recreation (Department of Conservation, 1996). Similarly, front-country camping is defined by the American National Park Service as any form of camping where visitors drive in a car or

vehicle to an established campground[1] (National Park Service, 2018). This is in opposition to backcountry camping, which involves off-road navigation—often on foot—to a wilderness area with limited facilities.

Camping in New Zealand is thus a complex combination of accommodation, recreation, and leisure—which is often as much about the experience of camping as the requirement for accommodation. Rooted in ideas of national identity, generations of New Zealanders have derived personal, social, and health benefits from camping in New Zealand—while reinforcing the connections between people and place. However, while the motivations to camp in New Zealand are often romanticised—such as reconnecting with nature and escaping the rush of modern life—camping is also an attractive option due to the inherent flexibility, mobility, cost, and convenience. Consequently, a growing number of international tourists are also seeking the New Zealand camping experience (Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, 2019a). This combination of international and domestic demand for camping is placing pressure on the infrastructure and the environment, and causing tensions between tourists and local communities.

While these tensions are well-documented in the New Zealand news media, the majority of academic literature and government research over the last decade has examined the perspectives of the campers themselves, and has largely neglected to consider the supply-side of camping. Research on campers in New Zealand and internationally to date has produced some valuable answers to questions around the demand for camping, such as the motivations and experiences of campers (Angus & Associates, 2017; Department of Conservation, 2006; Garst et al., 2009; Hassell et al., 2015; Kearns et al., 2016), demographics of campers (Angus & Associates, 2017; Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, 2019a; Prideaux & McClymont, 2006), and behaviour of campers (Angus & Associates, 2017; Collins et al., 2017; Prideaux & McClymont, 2006). However, there is a dearth of academic literature investigating the perceptions of local camping stakeholders about camping in New Zealand. This is a major blind spot for tourism research in New Zealand, as with camping tourism on the rise, the voices of key stakeholders such as local campgrounds and councils will be vital not only for the identification of the issues, but for

[1] From this point in the thesis, the term 'camping' will refer to this definition

the management and implementation of solutions. It follows, then, that the current study will examine the perspectives of local camping managers in relation to the changing nature of camping in New Zealand.

In addition to this, camping research in New Zealand has tended to be biased towards place-based theories, despite the fact that camping is often a mobile phenomenon. Although camping often appears to revolve around the campground as the destination, the increasing trend for mobile forms of camping such as converted vans and motorhomes reflects the demand for mobility and movement between sites in camping in New Zealand today. As such, the present research will apply a mobilities approach in order to understand camping tourism in New Zealand as a fluid journey which is based on flexibility and freedom of movement. Cresswell (2010)'s mobilities concepts of movement and representation will be employed to frame the research—which will consider how campers are perceived to move, and the meanings camping managers ascribe to that movement. Due to the considerable number of studies which already address camper experience, Cresswell (2010)'s third concept of practice will not be considered in the present research. Consequently, the present research will employ a case study approach to address three main areas of enquiry:

- How is camping perceived to be changing in the case study area?
- How can a mobilities approach be employed to advance theoretical understandings of camping and contribute to the mobilities literature?
- How can this application of a mobilities approach to camping support the development of camping management solutions for policy and planning in the case study area, and across New Zealand?

2.7 Chapter summary

Chapter 2 has presented and discussed the relevant literature on camping in New Zealand and internationally. This included research on the origins and culture of camping from the mid-19th century, right through to the increasingly commercial and mobile camping of the 21st century. Research on motivations and benefits of camping across the world was also discussed, along with how camping has been conceptualised in the literature to date. Following this review of the literature, the gap in the literature which will be addressed by

the present research was identified. As such, the current study will employ a mobilities perspective to examine the perspectives of local camping managers in relation to the changing nature of camping in New Zealand. The next chapter will the discuss how the approach and method for this research.


Zephyr

Chapter 3

Method

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed summary of the methods used to conduct the research, along with the methodological considerations of this approach. The first section of this chapter will outline the research design process. Following this, the three major phases of the data collection—desk-based research, scoping the area, and qualitative interviews—will be described, along with some reflections on qualitative research techniques. Finally, the method for analysing the data will be described and explained, and the positionality of the researcher discussed.

3.2 Research design

The research design included choosing a methodological approach, relevant participants, and a suitable case study area. In terms of a methodological approach, the study employed a qualitative approach. The decision to use qualitative methods was made based on two conclusions from the literature review: that there is a lack of published studies on camping which employ qualitative methods; and that very little is known about the phenomenon of camping in the 21st century. As explained by Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls and Ormston (2013), qualitative methods are particularly useful in areas which are not well understood or where there is little existing research, because it allows researchers to freely explore the phenomenon. Furthermore, when little is known about a phenomenon, qualitative research can act as a useful prelude to quantitative research (Ritchie et al., 2013). This is because it is difficult to form lines of enquiry and conduct a structured quantitative study without having a comprehensive understanding of the issue. On the other hand, qualitative research can identify underlying constructs, which can then be systematically studied using quantitative methods (Ritchie et al., 2013). Further to this, Ritchie et al. (2013) suggest that the uncovering of 'real life' language and ideas in qualitative research can be useful for framing future research in a way which makes sense to the group under study. As such, qualitative methods are ideal both for understanding new topics, and paving the way for larger

quantitative studies in the future (Clark & Creswell, 2008). Given this, a qualitative approach was deemed to be the most suitable for the present research.

3.2.1 Participants

There are a number of possible groups of participants who could be interviewed when it comes to camping research, including: the campers themselves, the communities in which camping occurs, the potentially competing recreational groups (such as hunters, kayakers and fishers), and those involved in the policy, planning, and management of camping. Based on the finding from the literature review that almost all of the existing literature on camping is biased towards the perspectives of the campers themselves, camping managers were identified as an appropriate group to approach. Furthermore, this group was ideal due to the convenience of contact, the likelihood of knowledge about camping in the area, and the potential for a broad range of opinions and perspectives which could contribute to understanding and influencing how camping is managed in New Zealand. Consequently, the participants for the present research were camping managers.

3.2.2 Case study area

To keep the scope of the research manageable, this research focussed on a specific case study area—the Mackenzie Basin and Waitaki Valley in the South Island of New Zealand. According to Babbie (2016), the key to generating interesting qualitative data is to "[go] where the action is" (p.310). Through an analysis of online news articles related to camping in New Zealand, the Mackenzie and Waitaki Districts—especially Aoraki/Mount Cook and Tekapo townships—were identified as areas which were attracting attention around camping issues in New Zealand. In particular, the increasing attention to camping pressure across the two districts was made clear by the fact that in 2018 the Mackenzie and Waitaki Basins Responsible Camping Strategy Working Group was established to monitor and manage visitor pressures from camping in the area (Waitaki District Council, 2018b). Online searches of the two districts using Google Maps and the mobile camping applications CamperMate and Rankers also identified a large number and variety of campgrounds in the two districts. Consequently, the Mackenzie and Waitaki Districts appeared to be ideal sites for "going where the action is". The characteristics of these districts will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. As such, the study adopted a qualitative approach to data

collection in order to explore camping managers' interpretations of camping in the Mackenzie Basin and Waitaki Valley.

3.3 Collecting the data

The method for the present study was divided into three phases: desk-based research about camping in the Waitaki and Mackenzie Districts; the collection of data about campgrounds across the two districts; and in-depth qualitative interviews with local camping managers. These three phases took place over a period of consecutive months spanning the New Zealand 2019 winter season. As Ritchie et al. (2013) emphasise, choosing a time for the research depends on the research objectives and priorities, and can be crucial to the success of the project. This time of year was chosen both because of the priority to have the data-collection completed in a time-frame suitable for the scale of the project, and because it was deemed to be a convenient time for camping managers, due to it being the 'off-season' for camping. The following sections will describe the three phases of the method – first the desk-based research phase, and then the interview phase. It is important to note that while all phases and stages are described in a linear fashion, due to the iterative nature of qualitative research, this was not always the reality of this project. As explained by Ritchie et al.:

> *Social research always involves an element of the unknown, and qualitative research offers the particular advantage of flexibility. In practice, the relationships between study design, theory, and data collection are iterative, and each should inform and be informed by the others. Research design is therefore not a discrete stage, but a continuing process. (2013, p. 75)*

3.3.1 Phase 1: Desk-based research

The desk-based research phase of data collection aimed to review what was already known about camping in the area. This involved finding camping managers who could be potential participants, and collating data about camping in the area. In order to identify the primary camping managers across the two districts, a stakeholder analysis of all the sectors which could be considered relevant to camping tourism in the Mackenzie and Waitaki Districts was

completed. This was done using internet searches to identify all the camping businesses and stakeholders across a variety of sectors with an online presence. These sectors were divided into five groups: accommodation providers, transport services, activities and attractions, information centres, and service providers.

Following the completion of this stakeholder analysis—through which initially over 200 stakeholders were identified (Appendix B.1)— the stakeholder list was narrowed down into a more specific group of camping stakeholders which did not include all the sectors originally identified. The criteria for inclusion in this second list was that the stakeholder must have a direct management or service role in camping in the Mackenzie and/or Waitaki District. For this reason, those involved in the management of camping (such as local and central government), as well as those who directly service campers (such as supermarkets) were included, but stakeholders not directly related to camping (such as motels and hotels) were excluded. These stakeholders were then divided into two groups based on priority: primary stakeholders, including campground owners, government representatives, and Regional Tourism Organisations (RTOs); and secondary stakeholders, including service providers and other key informants (Appendix B.2). The purpose of the two tiers of priority was to ensure that the stakeholders with expertise most relevant to the research questions had been interviewed before moving on to the less crucial stakeholders. As it happened, the large number of potential participants in the primary stakeholder group did not allow time for the secondary stakeholders to be interviewed.

Additionally, following some initial interviews with primary stakeholders, an additional group—'camping entrepreneurs'—was added to the primary stakeholders (Table 1). The camping entrepreneurs were businesses, organisations, or individuals who have developed innovative approaches to camping management in reaction to a perceived gap in the market of mainstream camping management—for example, mobile application developers. The stakeholders in this group were not necessarily based in the case-study area, but were able to provide a valuable broader perspective on camping management in New Zealand.

Table 1: Summary of Primary and Secondary Stakeholders

Primary Stakeholders (21 identified)	Secondary Stakeholders (23 identified)

Government representatives Regional tourism organisations Campground owners Camping entrepreneurs	Service providers Other key informants

This type of sampling can be described as stratified purposive sampling (Patton, 2015; Ritchie et al., 2013), and is a way of purposefully selecting participants so that a variety of key groups is represented. The aim of stratified purposive sampling is "to select groups that display variation on a particular phenomena [*sic*] but each of which is fairly homogenous, so that subgroups can be compared" (Ritchie et al., 2013, p. 79). Although this type of sampling has the potential to be biased – for example, if a researcher only represents certain groups and neglects others—awareness of this potential bias meant that the likelihood of it occurring was reduced by consultation with the supervision team on which groups to include in the sample. Furthermore, it should be noted that qualitative sampling styles such as this have sometimes been criticised for not adhering to the goals of quantitative research such as representation and scale (Babbie, 2016; Ritchie et al., 2013). However, as the goal of qualitative research is not to estimate the incidence of phenomena, but to explore the meanings and characteristics of phenomena, this style of sampling is entirely appropriate. The strength of this sampling style lay in its alignment with the aims of the study—to understand in-depth how camping managers are interpreting the changes in camping in New Zealand.

3.3.2 Phase 2: Scoping the area

Once this condensed stakeholder list had been created, an initial visit to the case study area was made to familiarise the researcher with the two districts. This field-trip involved a number of informal discussions with local stakeholders—through which several potential participants were identified—and visits to a variety of campgrounds across the two districts. Upon return from this field-trip, the names and contact details of potential participants were compiled based on the information collected so far. In cases where contact information was

not publicly available, the 'geographic outsider' status of the researcher in the Districts made it difficult to gain access to these potential participants (Kerstetter, 2012). Fortunately, the initial visit to the area had been fruitful in securing a key contact or 'gatekeeper' (Saunders, 2006) at a local council. This access to a gatekeeper allowed access to a large list of potential participants in the Waitaki District, some of whom then contacted the researcher directly to volunteer for the research. This was a textbook case of a 'gatekeeper' role as described by Saunders (2006), as the status of the gatekeeper in the community allowed for both the provision of contact information, as an influence over the support received from these contacts. This was evident in the participants who directly volunteered to take part on recommendation from the gatekeeper, as well as the many participants who mentioned this gatekeeper with respect during the interview process.

Another part of this scoping process was the collation of information about camping in the area. First of all, a number of reports based on data collected by the CamperMate application were sourced. These provided data about the movement and behaviour of campers in the Mackenzie and Waitaki Districts, which will be presented and discussed in Chapter 4. The scoping of the area also involved the creation of an inventory of descriptive data from all of the campgrounds visited during the fieldwork. Because of the large number of campgrounds across the Mackenzie and Waitaki Districts, the selected campgrounds were limited by a set of manageable criteria. In order to be included in the study, a campground was required to be: primarily a campground; accessible by car from State Highway 1, 83, 8, or 80 (Figure 3); and situated within the geographical boundaries of the Mackenzie Basin and Waitaki Valley.

Once these criteria had been decided, a list of each campground and its corresponding geographical placement on a map was created (Figure 3). These campgrounds were identified using Google Maps, council websites and the mobile phone applications CamperMate and Rankers. Almost all of the numbered camping locations in Figure 3 were visited, with only a few areas missed due to time constraints during the fieldwork. This inventory involved recording various factors of each campground—including the facilities, booking system, price per night, site characteristics, and general descriptions of the campground—as well as taking photos of each campground. In total, 30 campgrounds were recorded in the inventory. This information was then used to create generic descriptive statistics on the campgrounds in the case study area, as well as to create a descriptive table

with photos to aid understandings of the case study area (Appendix A). These campground inventories will also be discussed in Chapter 4.

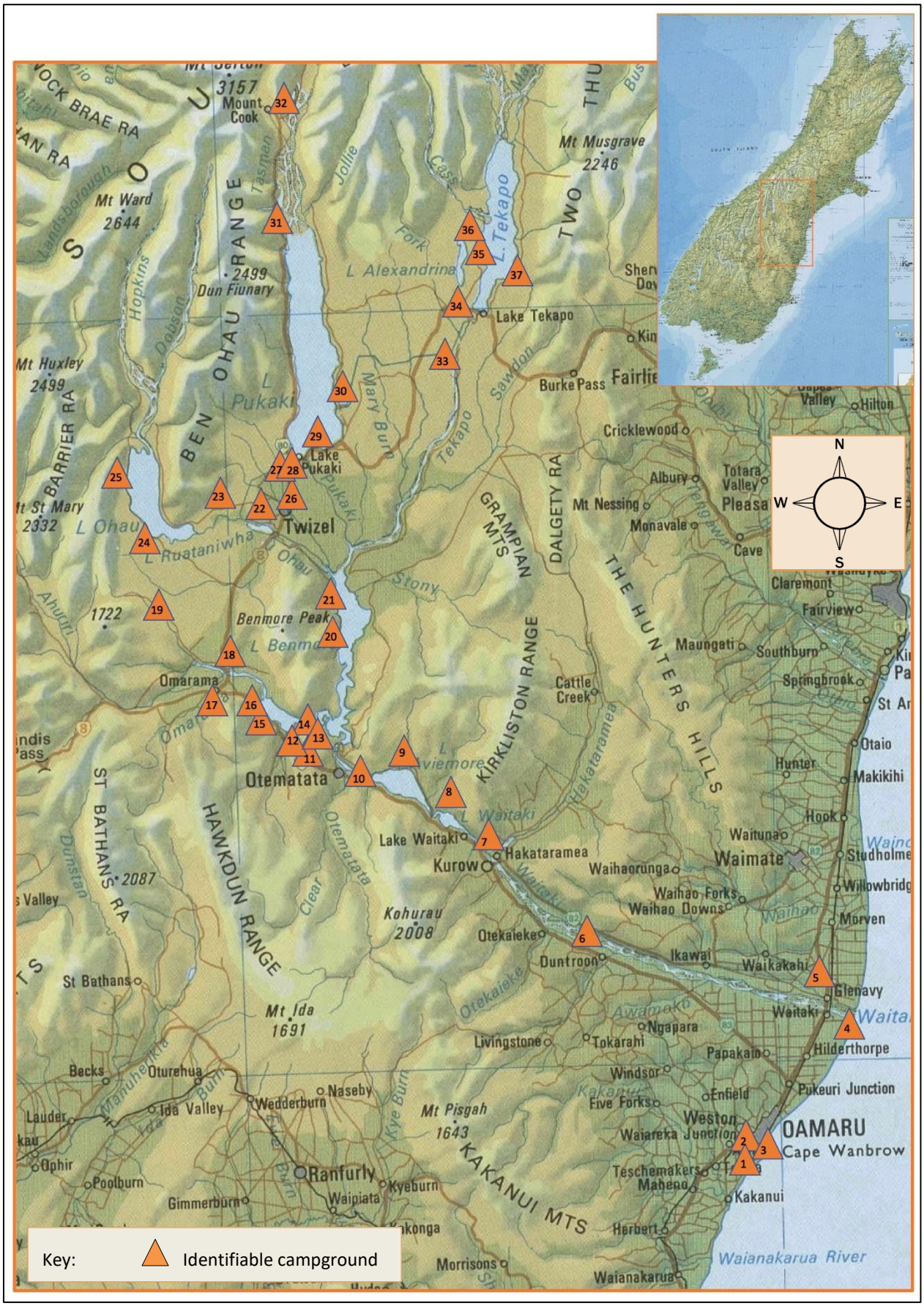

Figure 3: Map of Case Study Area (Image adapted from On the World Map (2019). Retrieved from: http://ontheworldmap.com/new-zealand/large-detailed-south-island-new-zealand-map.html).

3.3.3 Phase 3: Qualitative Interviews

The potential participants identified through the first two phases were then contacted by email. This initial email was an important first step in creating a good relationship with each participant, in order to start building rapport (Babbie, 2016; Ritchie et al., 2013). At the same time, it was important that this initial email was clear and open about the study, its purpose, and the requirements for participation (Ritchie et al., 2013). Each email briefly explained the purpose of the research and invited the camping manager to be involved on a voluntary, confidential, and anonymous basis. An attached PDF document (Appendix C.2) provided more detailed information about the research—including the purpose of the study, and an outline of what participation in the study would involve. Each camping manager was then invited to reply to the email with an expression of interest in participating, and some suggestions for suitable meeting times. This was in order to ensure that the participant was well-informed to give consent, and that participation was entirely voluntary – which are both key considerations in conducting ethical research (Babbie, 2016; Patton, 2002; Silverman, 2013).

Of the 19 stakeholders contacted, 16 volunteered to participate, two did not reply, and one declined to participate. One additional stakeholder contacted the researcher un-prompted and volunteered to participate upon recommendation from another participant. Therefore, there were 17 interviews conducted, with a variety of stakeholders, including six government representatives, five campground owners, four camping entrepreneurs, and two representatives of regional tourism organisations. Eight of these interviews were with stakeholders in the Mackenzie District, five were with stakeholders in the Waitaki District, and four were with other New Zealand-based stakeholders.

Across these 17 interviews, there were a total of 20 participants (one interview had three participants, while another had two). Although there is some debate about the ethics of interviewing multiple participants—due the potential for discussions on sensitive issues to cause repercussions outside of the interview—this was not deemed to be an issue in the present research due to the topics of discussion being relatively low-sensitivity and mostly of a professional, rather than personal, nature for the managers. Ritchie (2013) argues that these pair or triad interviews can work well when the persons represent a “naturally occurring unit” (p.37), such as a family, a married couple or a club. This is because the

participants are more likely to be open about their answers if they know each other well, and are acting in a 'natural' manner (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). As an example, in the interview involving three participants, the group represented an association involved in camping management. The members of this association had different areas of expertise on the issues being discussed, but shared a similar point of view, and as such is was beneficial to have all three in one interview. Consequently, the interviews with multiple participants likely benefitted from the various different areas of expertise represented, as well as the 'interactive reflection' between participants (Ritchie et al., 2013).

Fifteen of the interviews were conducted in a public place agreed between the interviewer and the participant prior to the interview, such as a café or an office. The other two interviews were conducted over the phone, as a face-to-face interview was not able to be arranged. For the face-to-face interviews, the participants were given the opportunity to read over the Research Information Sheet (Appendix C.2) and were then asked to sign a consent form to indicate their willingness to proceed with the interview. For the over-the-phone interviews, participants were asked to read the Research Information Sheet before signing and returning the consent form electronically, prior to the beginning of each interview. Participants were able to withdraw this consent at any time, up until one month after the interview was completed. This receipt of informed consent is an essential component of conducting ethical research, and as such was taken very seriously (Babbie, 2016; Patton, 2002; Silverman, 2013). Consent forms were subsequently given a code to link to the raw data, and then stored separately from the data in a locked file. This is also an important measure for preserving the anonymity and confidentiality of participants' responses (Babbie, 2016; Wiles, Crow, Heath, & Charles, 2008).

The interviews were recorded on an Olympus digital voice recorder. The interview length ranged from thirty minutes to an hour and a half, and was semi-structured in format. This meant that there was a guiding list of questions in the form of an interview schedule (Appendix C.1), but no particular wording, order, or requirement to ask these exact questions. The advantage of this format is that the participants are all asked similar questions, but if a participant strays from the intended topic, the researcher has the flexibility to decide whether to re-direct the conversation, or explore this new line of enquiry (Patton, 2002). This decision was made based on whether the content of the discussion was relevant to the research questions. For example, the interview schedule (Appendix C.1) did

not include any questions on mobile applications and technologies, but this was a subject often raised by participants. Since the introduction of mobile applications and technologies is highly relevant to camping change and the research questions, this theme was often explored. The interview schedule included questions about participants' roles in camping management, as well as how participants are interpreting and responding to changes in camping in New Zealand (Appendix C.1). This might have included the perceived problems and opportunities with camping in the area; the adaptive measures the participant was taking; and the participant's vision for the future of camping in New Zealand. The map of campgrounds created during the desk-based research stage was also provided in each interview as a visual tool to assist in describing specific problems or areas. These methods were reviewed and approved by the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee.

3.4 Qualitative interviewing techniques

In order to ensure the interviews generated data which were meaningful and relevant while minimising any potential biases, a number of interviewing techniques derived from the extensive literature on qualitative methods were employed. The literature on qualitative methods was very useful for writing the guiding interview questions and planning the interviews, however as Babbie (2016) asserts, "the continuous nature of qualitative interviewing means that the questioning is redesigned throughout the project" (p.311). Alongside this continuous development of the research questions, the researcher's interview skills were improved and refined throughout the interview process.

An interviewing skill which was drawn on before the interviews even started was building rapport with the participants. Establishing an open and trusting relationship with participants is important because if participants are comfortable, they are more likely to be open and honest in their answers (Babbie, 2016; Seale, Silverman, Gubrium, & Gobo, 2006). Further to this, building rapport often enables the interviewer to better comprehend the participant's perspective and produce more depth and understanding in the research (Fontana & Frey, 1994). As such, efforts to build rapport were made from the very first point of contact, right through to the last point of contact. This included being flexible to the availability of the participant, turning up on time to the interviews, thanking participants for making the time for the interviews, making personal small-talk before and after interviews,

and sending a follow-up email to thank participants afterwards. Some participants were open and friendly right from the beginning of the interview, however in most cases this rapport was gradually built throughout the interview as the researcher gained the participant's trust.

Beyond the questions in the interview schedule, the format for the interview followed a structure similar to that suggested by Seale, Silverman, Gubrium and Gobo (2006) in which a topic is introduced, followed by: listening to the participant, asking follow-up questions, asking the participant to elaborate on certain answers, offering personal ideas or experiences (or those of others) where relevant, and responding appropriately while listening (such as making agreeable noises, nodding, laughing, or smiling). These various aspects of qualitative interviewing meant that the researcher was required to be able to "listen, think, and talk almost at the same time" (Babbie, 2016, p. 312). Babbie (2016) describes this process as being in contrast to normal conversations, where the majority of one's time is spent thinking of what to say next in order to appear interesting, rather than listening to what the other is saying. In qualitative interviews, the researcher must be listening more than talking, and interested more than interesting—but at the same time, be able to subtly direct the conversation where necessary (Babbie, 2016).

The conversational style of the interviews was another technique from the literature which was employed. This skill in particular was one which was developed throughout the interview process as the researcher became more familiar with the general structure of the interview. Literature on semi-structured interviews suggests that interviewers should have a broad list of questions to cover, but that the interview should be like a conversation and as natural as possible (Babbie, 2016; Patton, 2002; Seale et al., 2006). As part of this 'natural' approach to interviewing, Seale et al. suggest that interviewers should not worry about asking 'leading questions' or remaining strictly neutral on the issues being discussed, but "just get on with interacting with that specific person" (Seale et al., 2006, p. 21). However, it is also important to be aware of the techniques for asking questions in a way which reduces personal biases and elicits quality responses (Patton, 2002; Rubin & Rubin, 2005). For example, asking open-ended questions, asking one question at a time, and using elaboration probes were all techniques which were employed, but not necessarily written in the interview guide. Awareness of these basic 'rules', along with interviewing practice before and throughout the data collection, meant that the interviews were able to proceed in a

manner which felt 'natural' and allowed both researcher and participants to play a role in directing the flow and content of the conversation.

One skill which was difficult to adhere to was interviewer neutrality. Remaining neutral as an interviewer means to remove personal judgement and opinion from responses and questions, so as not to bias the participant's responses (Patton, 2002). Although non-neutral interviewing has been debated in the literature as to whether it invokes researcher bias (Patton, 2002), Seale et al. (2006) argue that being neutral is actually impossible. This is because although interviewers can strive to ask non-leading questions and not offer their own thoughts and experiences, their very responses, body language, silences, and subsequent questions reflect their position (Seale et al., 2006). Furthermore, displaying a degree of agreement with a participant is an effective way of building and maintaining rapport (Patton, 2002). As a compromise, Patton (2002) suggests "empathic neutrality" – in which the interviewer displays a degree of understanding and agreement with the participant, but does not unduly influence the results by setting out "to prove a particular perspective or manipulate the data to arrive at predisposed truths" (p.51). Whether or not remaining neutral in an interview is possible, showing a degree of opinion felt the most natural for the researcher during the interviews, as it kept the conversation going and felt like it made the interviewer more 'human'. This experience is similar to what is described by Fontana and Frey (1994):

> *As we treat the other as a human being, we can no longer remain objective, faceless interviewers, but become human beings and must disclose ourselves, learning about ourselves as we try to learn about the other. (p.374)*

3.5 Analysing the data

During the fieldwork, a page of initial reflections and insights was drafted after each interview in order to begin the analysis and capture any early realisations while still in the field. Upon completion of the fieldwork, the next stage of the process was to transcribe, reflect on, code, and analyse all 17 interviews. These tasks are summarised into three steps by Auerbach and Silverstein (2003): making the text manageable, hearing what was said, and developing theory. The first part of 'making the text manageable' was to convert the

recordings into text. Following each interview, the recording was transcribed by ear into a word-processed format. The transcriptions were verbatim, except for any names – which were replaced with pseudonyms for confidentiality purposes (Wiles et al., 2008). This style of manual transcription was slow compared to digital transcription (such as voice-recognition software), but it allowed the researcher to revisit the interview and get close to the data again. After each interview was transcribed, a reflection on the data was written in order to begin the analysis stage. As Lofland (2006) emphasises, it is crucial that this stage of analysis occurs directly after each interview in order to stay close to the data, and a broader analysis based on these reflections can occur once all interviews are completed. Analysing the data throughout the interview phase also allows for further exploration (Blumer, 1969) of emerging issues in future interviews.

This exploration carried through into the second stage of analysis, which also began during the interview phase. Upon completion of two-thirds of the interviews (12 interviews), the word-processed transcriptions and reflections began to be uploaded to the qualitative research software, 'NVivo', for coding and analysis. This computer-assisted qualitative data analysis (CAQDA) tool does not actually analyse the data, but simply assists with storage, coding, comparing and linking of data (Patton, 2002; Ritchie et al., 2013). As such, the analysis itself is still done by the researcher, but the use of CAQDA software such as 'NVivo' can make the process faster and more systematic (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003). Although Auerbach and Silverstein (2003) caution that CAQDA does not provide the same level of data immersion as manual methods, it is generally agreed that CAQDA is beneficial to the research process due to the ease of handling data, the increased consistency, and the speed and efficiency (Ritchie et al., 2013). The programme 'NVivo' (Version 12) was chosen over other programmes based on access to the software through Lincoln University, as well as the researcher's previous experience with the programme

Coding, which is part of 'making the text manageable' and 'hearing what was said' (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003) involved close reading of the transcripts and reflections in order to uncover underlying meanings and themes in each sentence or paragraph of text. This process of closely examining the data is drawn from Blumer (1969)'s 'inspection' phase, in which data are analysed by discounting assumptions and approaching the data from a variety of angles, in order to unearth generic relations and meanings between ideas. Blumer (1969)'s approach to inspecting data allows the analysis to be "flexible, imaginative, creative,

and free to take new directions" (p.44). In order to inspect the data, transcripts were coded into a series of particular 'nodes' – a way of grouping the data thematically for analysis. Nodes were decided through 'open coding'—based on the themes which were most apparent to the researcher in the data—as well as through grouping the data in a way which made sense for addressing the research questions (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). For example, this is an excerpt from an interview with Ben, a camping entrepreneur:

> *I think the pressure that's been placed on councils from members of the community around freedom camping has meant that more councils are moving towards restricting their freedom camping for certified self-contained vehicles*

This line was read, and then coded to "Freedom Camping" > "Local reaction" and "Policy and Planning" > "Self-containment certification". Following this, the data were coded and recoded until a final set of condensed groups of data was formed (Ritchie et al., 2013). Through this coding process, not only were the data being sorted and categorised, but the analysis was continuing to take place through the iterative process of reading and re-reading the transcripts.

The final stage of Auerbach and Silverstein's steps for analysis is 'developing theory' (2003). Theory development occurred throughout the research process, but the final stage was to start thinking and writing about how the data could be considered in relation to theoretical constructs. This was done through reflection on how the grouped data could be approached from different theoretical perspectives, including the mobilities paradigm. Beyond this, the data were considered in relation to how the ideas might be able to inform new solutions or theories about camping in New Zealand.

3.6 Acknowledging positionality and limitations

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, in qualitative research it is important to acknowledge the influence of the researcher on the data collection, analysis, and—ultimately—the results. This is because the experience and positionality that individuals bring to research will influence even the small decisions which are made during the research process, which will in turn influence the analysis and results (Mills & Birks, 2014). Babbie (2016) posits that

because the researcher is essentially the 'instrument' through which data are collected, as well as the instrument of analysis, the researcher's personal biases can never be completely 'detached' from the data and results (Babbie, 2016). One aspect of this positionality is the researcher's position in the community of study. Kerstetter (2012) discusses how being an 'insider' or an 'outsider' in a community—or somewhere in 'the space between'—can affect research outcomes. This community can be defined by geographical boundaries, or collective characteristics such as ethnicity, gender, or sexual orientation (Kerstetter, 2012). While the merits and issues of being an 'insider' or 'outsider' in a community of research have been extensively debated in the literature (Kerstetter, 2012), this section seeks to neither prove or disprove these debates – but simply to acknowledge the effects of the researcher's position on the research.

First of all, I could be considered a 'geographical outsider' to the communities under study, as I do not live in either of the districts, and I was largely unfamiliar with the districts before embarking on this project. Similarly, I was an outsider to the camping management community – some of whom work closely together on local issues. The challenge of being an outsider in both of these aspects was that it was initially difficult to contact some participants. On the other hand, my 'insider' status at Lincoln University and as a Centre of Excellence for Sustainable Tourism scholar meant that the community was generally open and accepting of me, either due to previous experience working with university colleagues and the Centre of Excellence, or from attending the university themselves. In fact, it transpired during the fieldwork process that a significant proportion of the participants were either alumni of Lincoln University, or had family members who were alumni of the university. While this was not something I was aware of prior to arranging the interviews, it may have influenced the ease of access or "getting in" (Lofland, 2006) to the community of camping managers.

Secondly, although I was not a member of the community under study, my previous recreational experience with camping should also be acknowledged as a potential influence on the research. As a person who has been camping in New Zealand since before I could walk, the culture and traditions around camping in New Zealand are second-nature to me. Consequently, my collection and interpretation of results may have been biased by my personal experience. To an extent, this personal bias might have been reduced through the intentional use of specific interview techniques as suggested by Hitchings (2012)—such as

asking the obvious questions and allowing enough time for participants to answer. Either way, while this personal bias may have influenced the data-collection and analysis of results, I also believe my first-hand experience with camping gave me a valuable perspective to understand the issues being discussed. Furthermore, it allowed me to connect over a common interest and build rapport with many of the camping managers.

Furthermore, in recognising the strengths of qualitative research for this project, it is also important to acknowledge the limitations of this approach. In contrast to quantitative methods, qualitative methods cannot provide statistical descriptions of populations which can be applied to wider populations (Babbie, 2016). This means that while qualitative methods can provide depth of understanding on an issue, they cannot provide representative or generalisable statistics. Additionally, the reliability of qualitative research is often low (Babbie, 2016). This is because qualitative research is highly subjective and influenced by the personal views and experiences of the researcher, meaning that one researcher may interpret data quite differently to the next (Babbie, 2016). As such, it is important for qualitative researchers to acknowledge their biases and positionality in the presentation of results. Finally, the flexibility of qualitative research has left its rigour open to criticism (Baxter & Eyles, 1997; Patton, 2002). However, Blumer (1969) emphasises that it is still a rigorous approach made up of two fundamental parts: “exploration” and “inspection”. Starting with a very broad approach and eventually narrowing down to a point of focus, “exploration” allows the researcher to explore all possible lines of enquiry, and change the direction of the study based on what is found (Blumer, 1969). Subsequently, “inspection” is the analysis of the data, which involves discounting assumptions and approaching the data from a variety of angles, in order to unearth generic relations and meanings between ideas (Blumer, 1969). These stages of “exploration” and “inspection” are key aspects of qualitative research, which are fundamental for uncovering new ideas and being flexible to follow new lines of enquiry for phenomena about which little is known. As such, while qualitative research has some weaknesses which mean it cannot be guaranteed to produce reliable, generalisable, or representative data, since these outcomes were not fundamental to the aims of this research project, a qualitative approach was deemed appropriate for the following study.

3.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided a detailed outline and discussion of the research methods and methodology employed in the present research. This included justification of the research topic, descriptions of how data were collected and analysed, and reflections on the methodological considerations of the method of data collection and analysis. Understanding the method and its justification will help the reader to better interpret the results presented and discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, which follow the explanation of case study findings in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4

Case Study Findings

Introduction

The present research aimed to explore camping manager perspectives on camping in New Zealand through employing a mobilities perspective to address three main areas of inquiry: how camping is changing in a case study area of New Zealand; how Cresswell (2010)'s concepts of movement and representation could be applied to advance conceptual understandings of camping; and what the implications of this conceptualisation could be for camping policy and planning in the case study area and New Zealand. This chapter will discuss the findings from phase 1 and 2 of the research, as described in the previous chapter. Phase 1 of the data collection entailed desk-based research about the Mackenzie Basin and Waitaki Valley. The presentation of findings from phase 1 will include contextual descriptions of the geographical and social aspects of the two districts, and information from reports created by GeoZone using data from the mobile application 'CamperMate'. Phase 2—which was the creation of inventories of descriptive information about campgrounds in the Mackenzie Basin and Waitaki Valley—will be discussed alongside these findings. Consequently, this chapter will discuss a variety of characteristics of camping and tourism in the case study area in order to aid understanding of the results, including the literature on tourism; the management, cost, and facilities of campgrounds in the area; and the movement of campers according to recent CamperMate data from the summer camping period of 2018-2019.

4.1 Desk-based findings (phase 1)

Located in the centre of the South Island of New Zealand, the Mackenzie and Waitaki Districts cover a variety of land features. From West to East, the Districts encompass New Zealand's highest mountain peak Aoraki/Mount Cook, the dry grasslands and glacial lakes of the Mackenzie Basin, the rich farmlands and braided river of the Waitaki Valley, and the abundant coastline of the Pacific Ocean in the East. Just a few hours' drive from the major city of Christchurch—which is home to an international airport and a population of 388,000 residents—the Mackenzie and Waitaki Districts are considered to be convenient and

accessible tourism destinations for domestic and international tourists alike (Christchurch City Council, 2018). These districts are often described as a "corridor" to the main attractions in the South Island, making them ideal locations for mobile campers to congregate (Mackay, Taylor, & Perkins, 2018). The Mackenzie and Waitaki Districts (Figure 3) are separated by the Waitaki River—along which sit a number of popular spots for camping and recreation in the summer months (Wilson & Mackay, 2015). Another feature which spans across the case study site is the Alps 2 Ocean cycle trail, which covers 300km from the alps of Aoraki Mount Cook National Park to the ocean-side town of Oamaru (Alps 2 Ocean Cycle Trail, 2019). This cycle trail attracts both international and domestic tourists to the area, and also provides facilities along the way which make it ideal for freedom camping (Wilson & Mackay, 2015).

4.1.1 The Waitaki District

Due to the case study area encompassing two contrasting districts, there is a range of features across the area which makes it an interesting site for studying tourism. The Waitaki District is made up of largely flat agricultural land that slopes down towards the South Pacific Ocean on the East Coast of the South Island of New Zealand. The majority of its 20,000 permanent residents are employed in agriculture, and live in the urban centre of Oamaru (population 13,000) (Mackay et al., 2018; Waitaki District Council, 2017). Tourism in the district is predominantly domestic, with 67% of total tourism expenditure in the area between August 2018 and 2019 attributable to domestic tourism, and just 33% to international tourism (Table 2) (Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, 2019c). Tourism is gradually increasing in the Waitaki District, with a 1.3% increase in the number of guest nights between 2018 and 2019 (Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, 2019c). Nonetheless, the district plans to double its income from tourism by 2025 and is currently working on a number of projects to increase tourism to the area – including the Alps 2 Ocean cycle trail and the Waitaki Whitestone GeoPark (Gaskill, Elliott, & Currie, 2014; Waitaki District Council, 2018). Currently, popular tourist sites in the district include

geological features such as the Clay Cliffs, the Elephant Rocks, and the Moeraki Boulders, as well as the Oamaru Blue Penguin colony (Tourism Waitaki, 2019).

Figure 4: A campervan travels through the Waitaki District (Image by Espiner, 2019)

4.1.2 The Mackenzie District

The Mackenzie District includes farmland—but also over 700km^2 of protected land in Aoraki Mount Cook National Park (Mackenzie Region New Zealand, 2019a). This alpine environment—40% of which is covered by glaciers—includes New Zealand's highest peak, Aoraki Mount Cook (Department of Conservation, 2019). The region is much more sparsely populated than the Waitaki District, with just 4,100 permanent residents in the 2013 census, which corresponds to less than 0.1% of New Zealand's population (Stats NZ, 2013). In contrast to the Waitaki District, the Mackenzie District is already experiencing significant growth in visitor numbers. According to a 2019 MBIE report, while guest nights in the Waitaki District increased by just 1.3% between 2018 and 2019, guest nights in the Mackenzie increased by a much larger proportion of 6.4% (Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, 2019c). This is contributing to increased pressure on tourism infrastructure at tourist sites in the district (Mackenzie District Council, 2018; Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, 2019c). These sites include Aoraki Mount Cook National Park, Lake Tekapo Village and Lake Pukaki (Mackenzie Region New Zealand, 2019b).

Figure 5: The Mackenzie District's Aoraki Mount Cook, with Lake Pukaki in the foreground (Image by Espiner, 2019)

An additional distinction, is that compared to the Waitaki District, international tourists dominate tourism in the Mackenzie District. As seen in Table 2, in 2018 the proportion of tourist expenditure attributable to international and domestic tourists in Mackenzie was almost exactly the opposite to that in Waitaki—with 66% of tourist expenditure attributable to international tourists, compared to 34% spent by domestic tourists (Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, 2019c).

Table 2: Annual expenditure by tourists in Mackenzie and Waitaki, August 2018 - 2019
Source: (Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, 2019c)

	Resident population	Guest Nights	Domestic Tourist Spend	International Tourist Spend	Total Tourist Spend	% Domestic Spend	% International spend
Mackenzie Region	4,100	889,853	$102.2	$196.9m	$299.1	34%	66%
Tourism Waitaki	20,000	426,539	$122.8m	$61.7m	$184.5	67%	33%

4.1.3 Aoraki/Mt Cook National Park

One particularly significant feature of the case study area is Aoraki/Mt Cook National Park. The camping and vehicle-management issues in this particular segment of the case study area are varied and unique due to both the geographical limitations of the area and the management constraints of the National Parks Act 1980 ("National Parks Act," 1980). While it became clear during the fieldwork that there were a number of fascinating issues surrounding vehicles and camping in the National Park, the situation and setting meant that some of these issues were unique to the Park, and did not affect the rest of the case study area. Consequently, while data were still collected from this part of the case study area to contribute to a wider picture of camping in the Mackenzie Basin, it was not studied in isolation to the extent that would be required to form practical solutions specific to the Park. Consequently, camping in Aoraki/Mount Cook National Park remains an interesting area for future research, based on the preliminary findings of the present research.

4.1.4 CamperMate Report Results

In addition to this research on tourism across the two districts, the CamperMate reports provided some valuable insights into the context of camping in the Mackenzie Basin and Waitaki Valley. CamperMate is a map-based mobile application which allows users to easily find nearby campgrounds, as well as a range of other facilities and amenities (Figure 1). These reports are the result of detailed data collection about the movements and activity of campers using the CamperMate application in the Mackenzie and Waitaki Districts (GeoZone, 2019). The district-specific monthly reports contain information such as the number of overnight stays in a district in a given month, the geographical areas where high activity was recorded, the average time of day campers arrived at and departed from campgrounds, and the number of nights campers spent in the district. A portion of these results were re-interpreted from these reports and are presented here to complement what is known about the case study area. The data were collected from eight CamperMate reports across fourth months in the peak camping period, from December 2018 to March 2019. Most of the data have been re-interpreted into averages over the four months in order to account for any fluctuations between the months. It is important to note that the campers represented in these reports do not necessarily represent all campers in the districts, but

simply all campers with the CamperMate application downloaded. This may mean that some campers—for example, New Zealanders who regularly camp in the same campground and thus do not need the CamperMate application for navigation—may not be included in this data. Nonetheless, the data are likely fairly representative of freedom campers in New Zealand, due to the finding in a Selwyn District Council survey that 71% of freedom campers in Selwyn used a mobile application such as CamperMate to find campgrounds.

The first notable result from the CamperMate data—presented in Table 3—is the average number of overnight stays per month for each of the districts. This was calculated by taking the total overnight stays analysed across the four months for each of the two districts and finding the average of these figures. As seen in Table 3, the average number of overnight stays in the Waitaki District from December 2018 to March 2019 was almost half that of the average number of stays in the Mackenzie District for the same period.

Table 3: Average number of overnight stays in the Mackenzie and Waitaki Districts, December 2018 – March 2019 (GeoZone, 2019)

	Average number of overnight stays
Mackenzie District	6303
Waitaki District	3910

Building on this, the CamperMate reports provided data about the number of domestic and international users who stayed between 0 and 14+ nights in each of the two districts.

These figures were averaged across the four months for the number of visitors who spent zero, one and two nights. The results of this are presented in Figure 6.

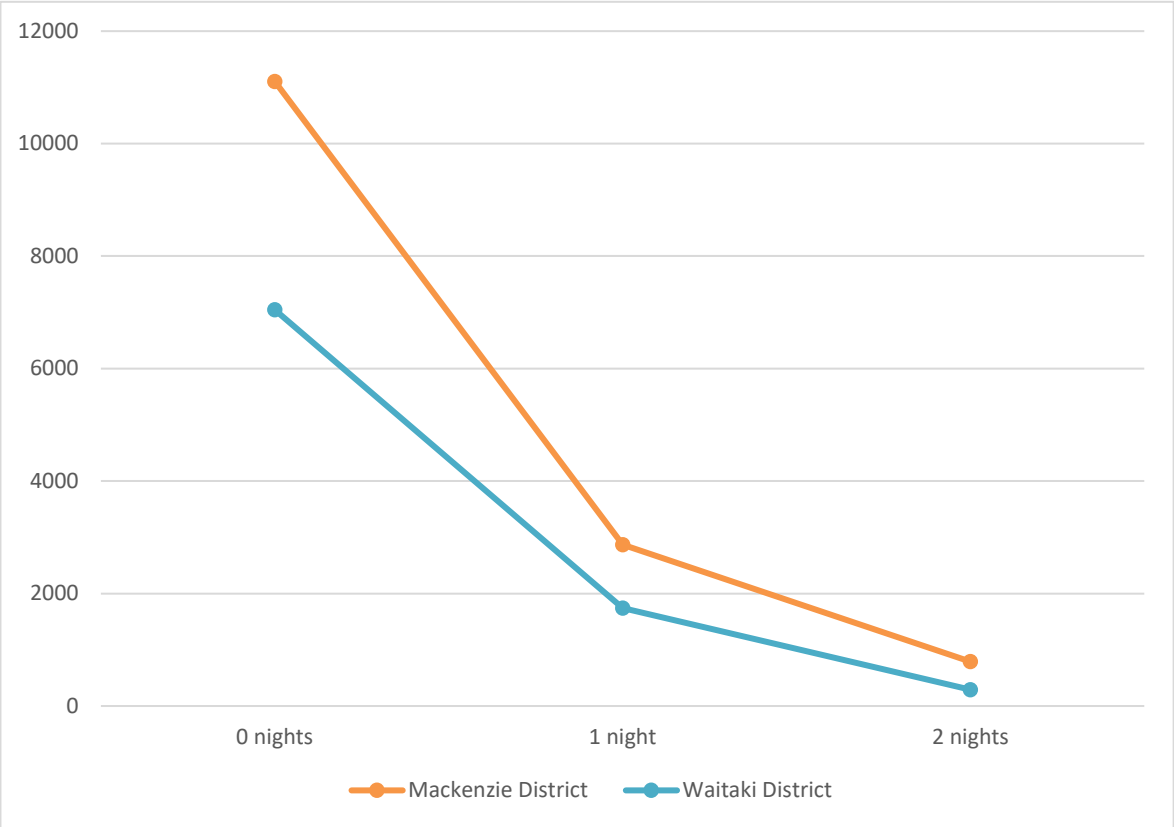

Figure 6: Average number of CamperMate users staying 0-3 nights in the Mackenzie and Waitaki Districts, December 2018 – March 2019 (GeoZone, 2019)

It is clear from Figure 6 that for the months studied, a large proportion of CamperMate users passed through the Mackenzie and Waitaki Districts without staying overnight. For both districts, the number of campers who spent 1 night is equivalent to just a quarter of those who passed through the district without staying overnight. Moreover, for each length of stay longer than 2 nights this number decreases even further. As such, these results would suggest that most of the CamperMate users in the Mackenzie and Waitaki Districts are passing through the districts on their way to somewhere else, with a small portion staying one night, and even fewer staying any longer than 2 nights before moving to another district.

Finally, the contrast between the number of international and domestic campers in the two districts was also an interesting finding in the CamperMate data. As seen in Figure 7, across both districts, the number of international users far exceeded the number of domestic users. In the Mackenzie District in particular, the number of domestic users was equivalent to just one-sixth of the international users. Although it is possible that this significant difference may be explained by domestic campers being less likely to have the CamperMate application on their phones, this was not investigated in the CamperMate data and as such remains unknown.

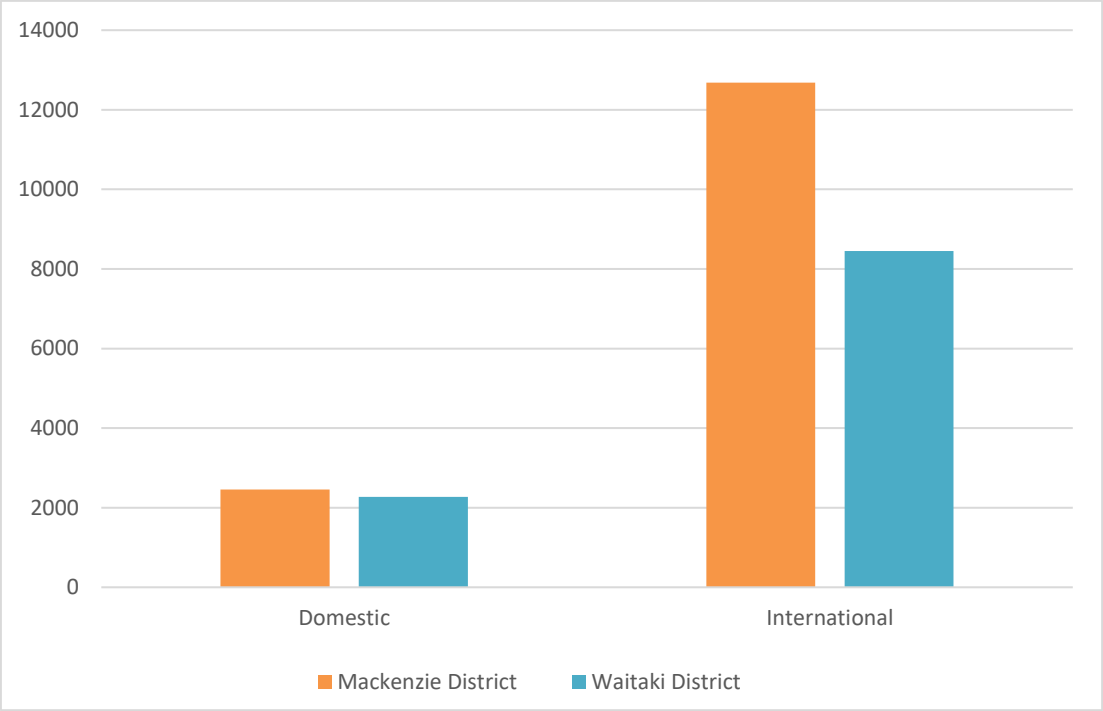

Figure 7: Average number of international and domestic CamperMate users in the Mackenzie and Waitaki Districts, December 2018 - March 2019 (GeoZone, 2019)

An implication of this stark contrast in international and domestic CamperMate users is that there may be a major imbalance between the number of domestic and international visitors across the two districts. A potentially positive implication of an imbalance in visitors in the Mackenzie and Waitaki Districts is that there would be more potential for international capital to enter the New Zealand economy (Jaforullah, 2015). On the other hand, there may also be negative implications of this imbalance—such as less community acceptance of

visitors and a weaker social license to operate for camping tourism (Archer, Cooper, & Ruhanen, 2005; Tourism New Zealand, 2019).

4.2 Campground inventory findings (phase 2)

As mentioned in Chapter 3, in addition to the CamperMate data about campers in the Mackenzie and Waitaki Districts, basic descriptive data about 30 campgrounds in the case study area was collected. Of the 30 campgrounds recorded, approximately half were based in the Waitaki District, and half in the Mackenzie District. Although all but a few of the campgrounds in the case study area were visited as part of this data collection, the aim of collecting this descriptive data was not to create a representative and generalisable sample, but rather to contribute to the reader's understanding of the context of camping in the Mackenzie Basin and Waitaki Valley. This level of understanding is important for a case study approach, as the results are specific to the area under study and thus may not be representative of campgrounds across New Zealand.

4.2.1 Management groups

Across the Mackenzie Basin and Waitaki Valley, the campgrounds were found to be managed by a wide variety of stakeholders. Managers included DOC, the Waitaki District Council, the Mackenzie District Council, local community groups, the NZMCA, private owners, contracted staff of private owners, and franchisee owners. Some campgrounds were even managed by multiple parties—for example, one campground was co-managed by a district council and a local community group. For the purposes of simplifying this diverse range of managers into groups which could be compared to other factors, the management of campgrounds was divided into four primary categories: sites managed by DOC, sites managed by the NZMCA, privately managed sites, and council-managed sites. Figure 8 shows the proportion of each of these campground management groups represented in the sample.

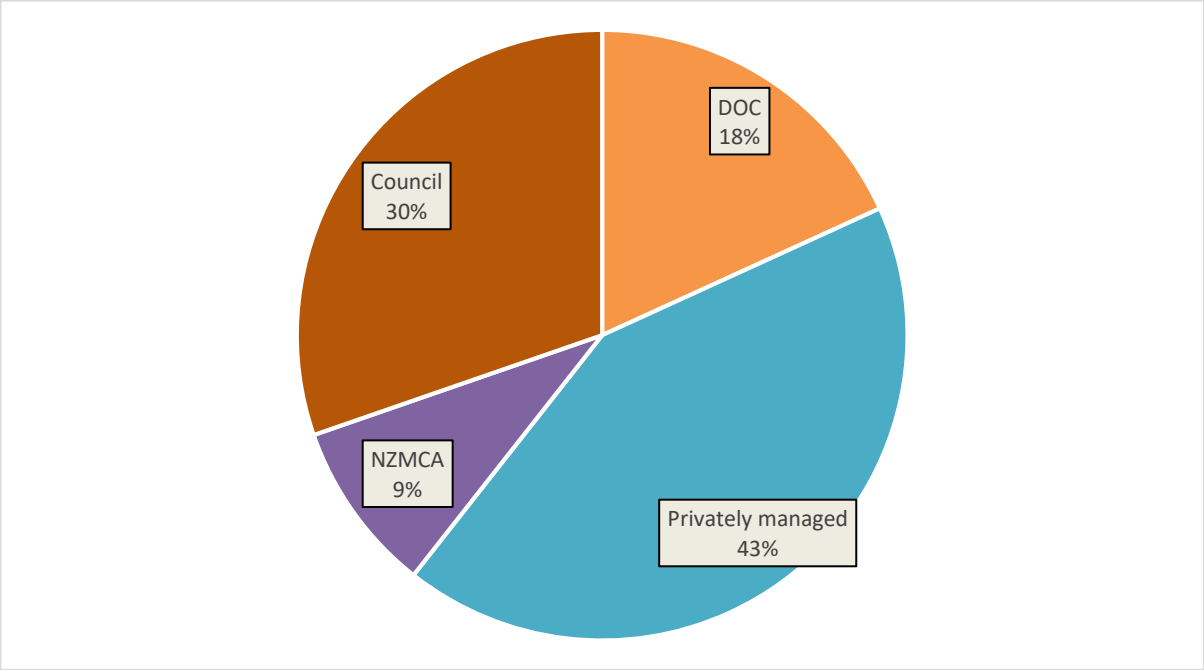

Figure 8: Proportions of camping management groups in the Mackenzie Basin and Waitaki Valley (n=30)

As shown in Figure 8, almost half of the campgrounds in the case study area were privately managed. These privately-managed sites were mostly commercial holiday parks, managed by the campground owners, contracted managers, or franchisee owners. Approximately one third of campgrounds were managed by district councils, while less than a quarter were managed by DOC, and only a few were managed by the NZMCA. The proportions were fairly similar across the two districts, however the Mackenzie Basin had more DOC campgrounds than the Waitaki Valley, while the Waitaki Valley had more council-managed campgrounds.

While this representation of management groups in the case study area cannot directly address how camping is changing in New Zealand, it does paint a picture of the variety of management groups present in the camping landscape in 2019. It also represents the options available to campers when searching for a campground in the case study area. The large number of privately-managed campgrounds might suggest an imbalance between the availability of high-cost holiday parks and campgrounds compared to the more basic and low-cost campgrounds. As such, cost of campgrounds will be the next factor considered.

4.2.2 Cost of campgrounds

Figure 9 displays the mean cost of campgrounds across the two districts, divided into three of the management groups. The NZMCA group was excluded from this figure because the cost of NZMCA sites is not publicly available information. It is also important to note that the real cost of NZMCA sites would be difficult to calculate, as it would be impacted by the annual membership fee.

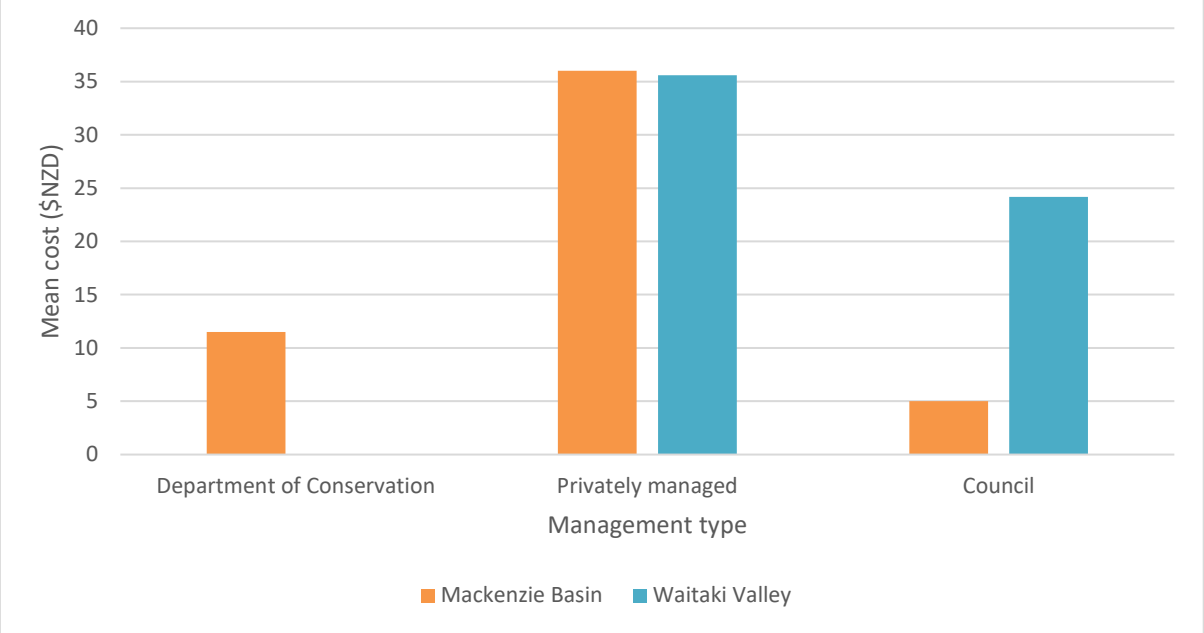

Figure 9: Mean cost of campgrounds in each district by management type (n=30)

Figure 9 shows a clear difference in mean cost between the management groups, with privately managed campgrounds being significantly more expensive on average than campgrounds managed by the other two groups. The second bar on the graph also shows a clear difference between the mean cost within management-types between the two districts. While the mean cost of privately managed campgrounds is very similar between the two districts, the mean cost of council campgrounds differs considerably between the two districts—with the Waitaki campgrounds being much more expensive. Furthermore, the opposite is true for DOC campgrounds—with Mackenzie campgrounds being much more expensive (the Waitaki mean cost is not visible, as all DOC sites in the Waitaki Valley were free).

Consequently, privately-managed campgrounds in the Mackenzie Basin and Waitaki Valley are relatively expensive compared to other camping opportunities in the area. This has the potential to negatively affect campground businesses—particularly in the Mackenzie District, where both DOC and the Mackenzie District Council offer low-cost camping options. In the Waitaki Valley, free or low-cost camping is only found at DOC sites, while council-run sites charge a relatively competitive rate. The contrast between the two districts in terms of the cost of council sites and the cost of DOC sites may be representative of demand for camping in each district. For example, a large proportion of campers in the Mackenzie District visit Aoraki/Mount Cook, where there is a DOC campground. The DOC campgrounds in the Waitaki District, however, are comparably less scenic and less popular. As such, the demand allows the price of the DOC campground at Aoraki/Mount Cook to be higher. On the other hand, the scenic council-run sites around the Waitaki Lakes are popular with New Zealand campers over the New Zealand summer. As such, the Waitaki District Council has sufficient demand to charge more for its campgrounds.

One caveat of this interpretation of the results is that the cost of the campgrounds represented in Figure 9 is based on a nightly rate for two persons, in order to make the campgrounds comparable. However, the Waitaki District Council sites also offer a $500 'Season Pass', which could significantly reduce the nightly rate if one stayed at one of these sites for more than 20 nights in a season. As such, this price difference does not apply to long-term campers.

Further to this, the cost of campgrounds across the two districts was also arranged into brackets based on price for comparison. These brackets were free campgrounds ($0), low-cost campgrounds ($1-$15), medium-cost campgrounds ($16-$30), and high-cost campgrounds ($31+). Figure 10 shows a comparison of the percentage of campgrounds in a price-bracket by district.

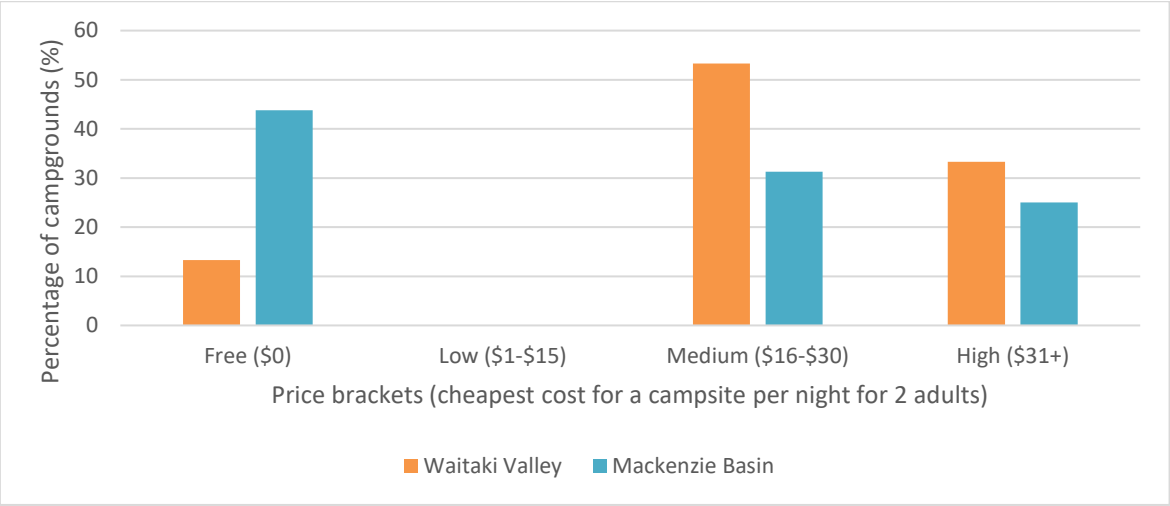

Figure 10: Campgrounds in a price-bracket by district

As seen in Figure 10, the percentage of campgrounds in a price bracket varied by district. In the Waitaki Valley, less than 20 percent of campgrounds were free, while over half of the campgrounds were in the medium ($16-$30) price bracket. This is likely due to the large number of council-run sites in this district, which charge $25 a night. In contrast, most of the campgrounds in the Mackenzie Basin were free, with the percentage of campgrounds in a price bracket decreasing as the price bracket increased. The most salient aspect of this graph, however, is the dearth of campgrounds in the low-cost ($1-$15) price bracket. This gap in the market means that campers visiting the Mackenzie Basin and Waitaki Valley are forced to choose between paying upwards of $16 to stay at a campground, or staying at a free site. As such, those campers seeking a low-cost option may be more likely to opt for a free campground, due to the lack of other low-cost options.

4.2.3 Facilities

The facilities available at the campgrounds across the case-study area varied greatly. Figure 11 displays the percentage of campgrounds across the two districts which offered various facilities.

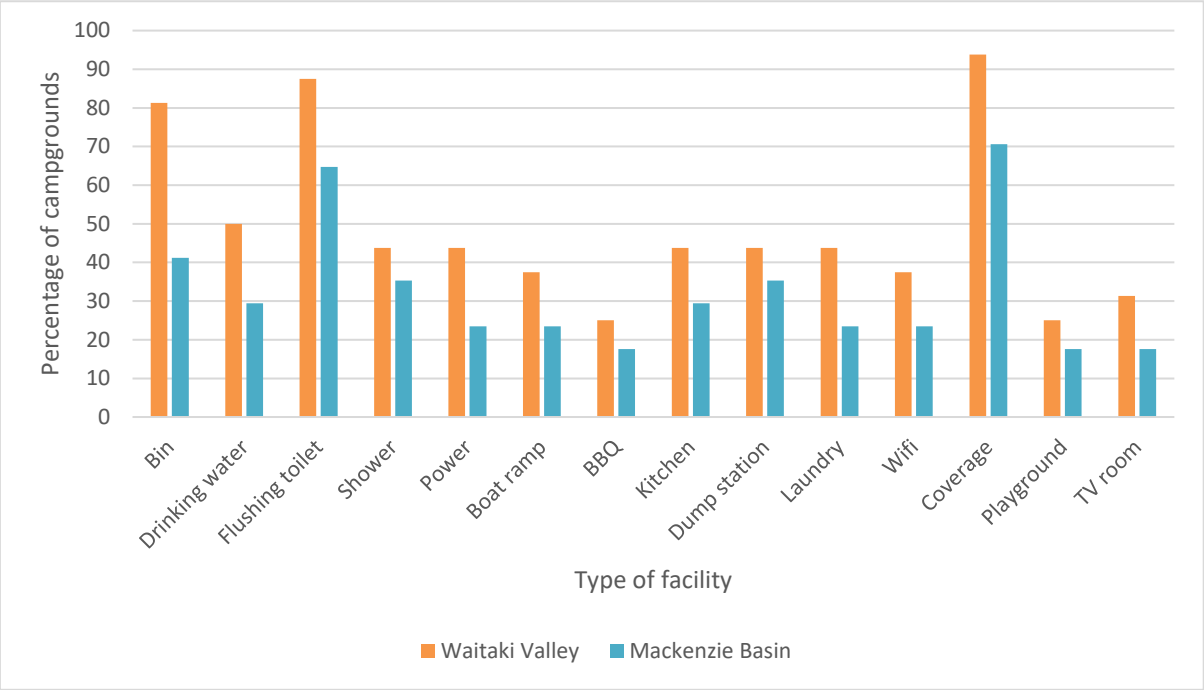

Figure 11: Facilities available at campgrounds by district

In both districts, most campgrounds had cell-phone coverage, a flushing toilet, and a rubbish bin—while playgrounds, barbeques, and television rooms were the least common across the two districts. The most notable aspect of this graph is that it shows that the Waitaki District campgrounds are more likely to provide facilities than the Mackenzie District campgrounds across every type of facility. As such, these results suggest that the campgrounds in the Mackenzie Basin are more basic in terms of facilities than the campgrounds in the Waitaki Valley. This may be due to the high proportion of free sites in the Mackenzie Basin.

4.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided some important context about the Mackenzie Basin and Waitaki Valley in order to aid the reader's interpretation of the results. Although just one of the two districts could have been chosen for this research, the interesting contrasts between the two districts—including the population sizes, the tourism goals, and the visitor numbers—mean that it provides a rich and varied case study. The interpretation of the CamperMate report findings revealed some key insights about CamperMate users across the two districts in terms of camper movements and tendencies across the two districts. These included the significant number of tourists staying overnight in the Mackenzie District compared to the

Waitaki District, the relatively short length-of-stay of campers across both districts, and the major imbalance in international and domestic tourists in both districts. The campground inventory results also revealed some interesting characteristics of campgrounds across the case-study area, including the large number of privately-managed campgrounds, the relatively high price of private campgrounds compared to other camping options, the lack of low-cost options for camping, and the variety of facilities offered in campgrounds. These findings will contribute to the reader's understanding of the context of camping in the Mackenzie Basin and Waitaki Valley in 2019, and assist interpretation of the results of the interview data in Chapters 5 and 6. The following chapter, Chapter 5, will explore how camper movement was represented by the camping managers.

Chapter 5

Representation

5.1 Introduction

Chapters 5 and 6 will present and discuss the results of the qualitative interviews from a mobilities perspective, using Cresswell (2010)'s concepts of 'movement'—which concerns how things move—and 'representation'—which regards how movement is interpreted. As discussed in Chapter 2, the third concept of 'practice'—which refers to the lived experience of movement—will not be discussed here, for two main reasons. These pertain to the fact that camping managers do not actively experience camper movement, and that previous research tends to focus heavily on the practice component of mobility through discussions of camper experience.

The representation component of mobility considers how movement is understood or interpreted to create meanings. Cresswell (2010) emphasises the importance of understanding the meanings of movement by using the example of walking. Although the movement of walking is ubiquitous throughout most of human civilisation and history, walking has also represented a wide array of meanings across time and space—from military conformity, to social protest and rebellion (Cresswell, 2010). Similarly, Delaney (1999) suggested that human mobility is made up of both physical bodies moving through tangible places and categorical beings moving through representational spaces. As such, to attempt to understand movement without understanding the representations or meanings of that movement would be to ignore an essential component of the mobilities approach. To put this into context, while the movement of campers might be the same across New Zealand, the meanings of that movement and how that movement is interpreted by local camping managers could be very different. Consequently, for the present research it is important to consider the meanings attributed to camping by the camping managers before discussing the movement of campers.

This chapter will discuss how the camping managers interpreted mobile camping across the case study area. Throughout this chapter and the chapter which follows, the camping managers will be referred to in terms of the four camping management roles identified in

the Methods chapter: Campground Owners (commercial), Camping Entrepreneurs, Government Representatives, and Regional Tourism Organisations.

5.2 Representational camper groups

A recurring theme among interview participants was to categorise the campers into specific groups. During analysis of the data, the researcher identified three main groups of campers which were commonly described by the camping managers. These groups depict stereotypical representations of various types of campers observed by the camping managers. Despite the fact that multiple camping managers identified these same groups, it is important to note that they do not necessarily represent the reality of all campers in New Zealand—nor the perceptions of all camping managers in New Zealand. In fact, a different set of interview participants may group the campers entirely differently. This is because the stereotyping of people is merely a function for individuals to subjectively make sense of the world around them (Jussim & Rubenstein, 2016). As such, these groups may not depict reality, but merely stereotypes used by the camping managers to understand the behaviour of the various types of campers in their jurisdictions.

The three main groups of campers which emerged from the interview data and will be discussed below have been named the Self-Sufficient Spenders, the Basic Budgeters, and the Kiwi Classics (Table 4). These groups were all discussed in various terms by the camping managers, and were categorised and named by the researcher after the interviews for clarity. Although on the surface these camper profiles are all similar—as they all travel in vehicles and stay overnight either in that vehicle, or in a tent or caravan—there were some key differences between the groups which the camping managers used to categorise the campers. The camping managers based these groups on a number of factors, including the demographics of the campers, the behaviour of the campers, and the vehicle in which the campers are travelling. Categorising the campers into these groups allowed the camping managers to discuss not only the advantages and disadvantages of the various groups, but the strategies for managing the groups. The three groups are discussed below.

Table 4: Camper Representation According to the Camping Managers

	VEHICLE-TYPE	DEMOGRAPHICS	ASSOCIATED BEHAVIOURS
SELF-SUFFICIENT SPENDERS (AND BABY BOOMER CRUISERS) 	Large, self-contained campervans and caravans	Wealthy international or domestic families or older couples	These campers are perceived positively because they are considered to be of economic benefit to New Zealand. They are also perceived to be respectful and tidy, with few negative impacts. These campers often alternate between free campgrounds and commercial campgrounds.
BASIC BUDGETERS 	Smaller, non-self-contained vans and cars	Younger couples or singles with a limited budget	These campers are viewed fairly negatively by most of the camping managers, due to both the perceived lack of benefits, and perceived negative impacts of their behaviour. These campers mostly stay at free sites.
KIWI CLASSICS 	Car with caravan or tent	Domestic families or older couples	This style of camping is viewed quite positively, but also as rather inevitable, due to it being the 'traditional' Kiwi approach to camping in New Zealand. Most of the camping managers either still engage in this camping-style themselves, or have done so in the past.

5.3 Self-Sufficient Spenders

The first group of campers frequently mentioned by the camping managers was the 'Self-Sufficient Spenders'. These campers were often labelled by the camping managers as 'self-contained campers' or 'wealthy campers', which is why they have been assigned the name 'Self-Sufficient Spenders'. The Self-Sufficient Spenders were usually characterised as wealthy families or older couples (from middle-aged to retired) who travel in large, self-contained campervans and caravans and stay at a variety of free and paid sites.

Figure 12: A generic portrayal of a Self-Sufficient Spender vehicle (Image by Espiner, 2019).

These vehicles were often described as being the upper-end of the market in terms of camping vehicles, and consequently it was perceived that the Self-Sufficient Spenders contribute more money to local economies than other types of vehicle-based campers. As a result, Self-Sufficient Spenders were generally perceived as having a positive impact on local communities, regardless of whether they stay at free or paid sites. One camping manager described this relationship between the Self-Sufficient Spenders and the perception of economic contribution:

> *When a community sees a station wagon, or like 50 station wagons, staying at a freedom camping site— they're stringing up a clothes line between a tree and their vehicle, they're cooking out of the back of their station wagon—that's when the community will get quite upset. Whereas if that freedom campsite is filled with 50 high-end Maui campervans, they know that that person is contributing money to the economy.*
> (Ben, Camping Entrepreneur)

Campground Owners in particular mentioned the positive economic contribution of Self-Sufficient Spenders to local businesses—including campgrounds—during their trip. As one Campground Owner explained:

> *We have absolutely no problem with the self-contained campers, because they are doing it properly…And then the holiday parks across the country will get a click of the ticket there, because at some point they've got to empty their waste, they need to charge their campervans, they need to take a decent shower and do their laundry.*
> (Bridget, Campground Owner)

Furthermore, the self-containment certification of the Self-Sufficient Spenders' vehicles was a key aspect of the positive perception of these campers. The camping managers often described self-containment as the key criterion which differentiates the Self-Sufficient Spenders from other vehicle-based campers. This differentiation stems from the fact that the camping managers recognise a direct correlation between this certification and a camper's environmental impact. As one camping manager described:

> *If you have your non-self-contained vehicle-based camping where people are staying in the back of station wagons and bits and pieces there'd be a lot more burden on the environment and council facilities…If the increase is in your motorhomes, the self-contained people, so long as they are well-dispersed and they're not having too much impact, then I don't think there'd be a huge impact on the community.*
> (Frank, Government Representative)

Consequently, the Self-Sufficient spenders were generally viewed very positively by the camping managers due to the perception of economic contribution and environmental responsibility. In the camping managers' interview data, it is also possible to identify another sub-group of older domestic motorhome-users, which will be discussed in the next section.

5.3.1 Baby-Boomer Cruisers

Across the literature on camping, groups of senior motorhome-users similar to the Baby-Boomer Cruisers have been identified (see 2.5). These campers have drawn a variety of names, including "Grey Nomads"(Onyx & Leonard, 2005), "Retired Snowbirds"(Viallon, 2012) and "Empty Nesters" (Prideaux & McClymont, 2006). Although these labels all refer to a similar group of campers, there are subtle differences between the groups based on a variety of factors. For example, Onyx and Leonard (2005) identify differences in travel behaviour between the Australian Grey Nomads—who spend up to six months travelling

between various new sites in the winter—and the American Snowbirds—who travel for up to four or five months, but stay at one site for the entire season. In the interest of categorising this group of campers specifically in the context of this research, this group will be referred to as the Baby-Boomer Cruisers. This is based on the frequent use of the phrase "baby-boomer" in the interviews when referring to this group of campers.

Usually members of the NZMCA, these campers are retired New Zealanders who tend to travel in couples and spend anywhere between days to months touring New Zealand in their motorhomes. The Baby-Boomer Cruisers group was perceived to be steadily increasing in size, due to New Zealand's aging population, as well as the increasing attractiveness of owning a mobile home. As one camping manager described this group:

> *Like retired Kiwis who've bought a campervan. Maybe a few years ago they might have bought a bach, but they've bought a second-hand campervan and they're just retired, and they're cruising around fishing around the canals and rivers and that sort of thing.*
> (Hector, Government Representative)

Similarly, another camping manager emphasised the shift towards mobile homes:

> *We're starting to see there's a lot more people retiring with discretionary income and wondering what to do with that income and thinking "well, we want to explore the country". When we talk to members about why they joined [the NZMCA], the traditional bach*[2] *option is no longer as appealing because you're fixed in one spot.*
> (Kevin, Camping Entrepreneur)

These quotations both portray a group of campers who might once have opted for a different type of accommodation—namely baches or holiday homes—but are now seeking the flexibility and freedom of a mobile holiday home. This shift from static holiday homes to mobile holiday homes has been further supported by the continuous premiumisation[3] of motorhomes and campgrounds in New Zealand, which may have made camping more comfortable and accessible for this demographic (Brooker & Joppe, 2013). One camping manager described this change:

> *I also think that in New Zealand, compared to 20 years ago, the market has changed in terms of the kinds of vehicles you can purchase now…they're more convenient, more affordable, and they have all the*

[2] Bach (pronounced 'batch') is a commonly-used term in New Zealand to describe a small holiday home.
[3] Term coined by a participant to describe the continuous upgrading of campgrounds in New Zealand.

> *mod-cons inside that you'd want for leaving home for a few weeks or a few months on end.*
> (Kevin, Camping Entrepreneur)

Although the emergence of the Baby-Boomer Cruisers represents a substantial change for camping management in New Zealand, it was not perceived to be an overwhelmingly negative change by the camping managers. While this was partly because of the perception of economic benefit and limited environmental cost of these campers, it was also attributed to a sense of earned rights and respect for this group of campers. Because of the specific age-group of the Baby-Boomer Cruisers, they were perceived to have contributed sufficiently to the New Zealand tax system over the years to have earned a right to camp wherever and however they wish. As one camping manager explained:

> *You can't reproach them, because you can always say "that guy is a 70 year old Kiwi, he's paid taxes for 50 years, if he wants to camp under a tree then leave him alone"*
> (Hector, Government Representative)

Overall, the Self-Sufficient Spenders and Baby-Boomer Cruisers were regarded by the camping managers as being respectful, tidy, and entitled—with few negative impacts due to self-containment. They were also perceived to be of economic benefit to New Zealand, due to their perceived affluence and tendency to stay at both free and commercial campgrounds. The Baby-Boomer Cruiser sub-group was probably perceived the most positively, due to their age and sense of earned status.

5.4 Basic Budgeters

A second group of campers which can be identified from the interviews with camping managers was the Basic Budgeters. These campers were most often referred to as 'freedom campers', despite the fact that there are many types of campers who engage in freedom camping—including Self-Sufficient Spenders.

Figure 13: A representation of a Basic Budgeter vehicle (Image by Espiner, 2019)

Consequently, Basic Budgeters were probably the most frequently discussed type of camper, due to the controversy surrounding freedom camping in many communities. Nonetheless, for the purposes of this research, the term 'freedom campers' was avoided both in the collection of data and presentation of results, due to the pre-existing connotations of the term. One camping manager highlighted the difficulties surrounding the terminology of freedom camping:

> *When you're talking about freedom camping you've got to be careful – a lot of people think of freedom camping as only those who aren't self-contained. And it's a terrible phrase to use, because it means different things to different people…*
> (Frank, Government Representative)

To avoid this confusion, this group of campers will be referred to as 'Basic Budgeters'— which alludes to the group's basic level of equipment and facilities and their limited financial means. In contrast to the Self-Sufficient Spenders, the Basic Budgeters were usually described as younger couples or singles who travel in smaller, non-self-contained vehicles on a minimal budget. As one camping managers described this group:

> *That's your younger group probably have arrived in Auckland, buy a little cheap Toyota, and go to The Warehouse and buy a tent.*
> (Simon, Government Representative)

Another camping manager had a similar description of the Basic Budgeters:

> *The people who are doing the proper freedom camping are in their early 20s or they're 19 or something, sleeping in the back of some Nissan Serena.*
> (Karl, Government Representative)

The Basic Budgeters were also perceived to stay predominantly at free sites, and spend as little money as possible during their trips. This perception of the Basic Budgeters being selective spenders was described by a government representative:

> *Those that aren't self-contained probably aren't going to put a lot of money back into the restaurants and stuff. They're the ones who are cooking in the back of their cars and try and do it as cheap as possible.*
> (Evan, Government Representative)

In addition to this categorisation of the Basic Budgeters as young and budget-conscious car-campers, there were a number of themes which were commonly highlighted when discussing this group of campers. These include the pressure these campers place on local communities and campgrounds, the notion of fake self-containment certifications, and the reaction of local communities to the Basic Budgeters. These three themes will be discussed below.

5.4.1 Pressure on community and campgrounds

Due to their economical approach to camping, the Basic Budgeters were seen to have negative impacts on local communities and the environment through placing pressure on community facilities, taking advantage of private campground resources and facilities, or using the natural environment for washing, personal hygiene, and toileting. One camping manager explained how this perception is specific to this group of campers:

> *Most of the issues come from that aspect of the community which is un-self-contained. And those are the ones that do cause concern, the ones that go and wash their dishes in toilet sinks and use the hand dryers to dry their clothes and those sorts of things. And when that does happen you certainly do hear comments from the community.*
> *(Frank, Government Representative)*

Campground owners felt particularly strongly about the negative impacts of Basic Budgeters. Two campground owners described how this group of campers will take advantage of campgrounds:

> *"We get used quite a bit. Because they'll come and they'll try and talk you down the price, and they want to use the washing machines, dump, and have good showers…and then they'll cook up a week's load of tucker in the kitchens, and use your showers and nick everything that's not screwed down. And then you feel really used, and you feel it isn't fair because*

they're making it harder for all the rest of the people."
(Ellen and Vince, Campground Owners)

Elaborating on this, Ellen and Vince explained why these actions cause them to feel 'used' by the Basic Budgeters:

"It's the principle of it, because this is our home, and we want people to come and feel at home here. And if someone just comes in and drives right past the office without calling in and go and using our facilities, well we get a bit brassed off at that."
(Ellen and Vince, Campground Owners)

In addition to the sense of being 'used' by these campers, the same campground owners described how Basic Budgeters sometimes steal from campgrounds:

"They'll unravel a whole roll of toilet paper around their arm and put a towel over it and steal it. And they'll nick your dishwashing liquid and your scrubbing brushes, and all that stuff that you put out to make life easier.…If they're gonna go freedom camping, yeah go freedom camping. But don't come here and nick our stuff."
(Ellen and Vince, Campground Owners)

Two other campground owners felt similarly negatively about the Basic Budgeters. One campground owner felt that this group—particularly the international segment of this group—was responsible for the dumping of rubbish outside her campground:

One problem we do have with the non-self-contained ones is the rubbish. We don't have a lot of rubbish disposal places here in Tekapo, so we have big skips down here and we get people dumping their rubbish down here all the time. Even though we've got signs saying it's private. It's pretty frustrating. At the end of the day, they're not our guests, so we don't have to be nice to them. You have to be blunt. They think that we owe them. They come to New Zealand and they think that we owe them the privilege of being about to freedom camp around or steal their way around New Zealand.
(Bridget, Campground Owner)

Another campground owner suggested that the actions of the Basic Budgeters posed a fire risk to the community, because the places where they pull over to freedom camp may not have warnings about the fire ban in summer:

Fires are something that people aren't aware of. A lot of the guys, they just light their wee cooker, they think nothing of it, and they're doing no harm – but there's a fire ban that they're probably totally oblivious to because they're camping in all the free spots all over the place and they

don't know what's going on.
(Vaughn, Campground Owner)

In addition to rubbish and fires, many of the camping managers mentioned other adverse effects on the environment. One camping manager explained why the potential for freedom camping to negatively impact the environment is so severe in the Mackenzie Basin:

> *This high-country area is rather fragile…And it's not been designed to have lots of people driving over it and walking over it, and putting waste onto it…We're already seeing the implications on the environment. And the backlash from little communities that have to live with their environment being damaged and not respected.*
> (Nancy, Government Representative)

Another camping manager gave an example of an area in the Mackenzie Basin which he described as having been damaged by Basic Budgeters:

> *Lake Ruataniwha, which is just south of town here, it used to be that it was freedom camping everywhere. The impact on the environment on the lake edge was just absolutely massive. So now we've limited freedom camping down the far end, and said "you can freedom camp, this is the area you can do it in". And that gives other areas time to hopefully regenerate, and to get back to what it was.*
> (Evan, Government Representative)

A number of camping managers particularly emphasised the impact of a lack of toilet infrastructure on the environment:

> *When people go out to the lakes and see toilet paper everywhere, and they can't go and swim in the areas that they used to, and then you've got the added pressure of environmental impacts and land uses...Sometimes you go out there and beside every rock and matagouri bush there's toilet paper…And a local guy did a clip on it saying "it's definitely Poo-kaki[4]!".*
> (Nina, Government Representative)

However, one camping manager described the difficulties of trying to provide adequate infrastructure to protect the environment, without upsetting local businesses and rate-payers:

> *The more pro-active I am in dealing with freedom camping, the holiday park owners who are business-owners get angry that I'm trying to take money off their business. So it's a real balancing act between looking after the rate-payers, and looking after the environment. It really is tough.*

[4] In reference to the name of the local lake, Lake Pukaki.

> *Tekapo are a township that just gets absolutely hammered by freedom campers…So we opened up a spot about 25 minutes from Tekapo on the edge of Lake Pukaki, to give freedom campers somewhere to go. But then the flipside is the Tekapo Holiday Park says "well actually, they should be staying with me and paying money". So yeah it's really, really hard.*
> (Evan, Government Representative)

Another government representative mentioned a similar challenge in Aoraki Mt Cook National Park, with a clash between facilitating public access and protecting the environment:

> *Under the Conservation Act we are trying to manage the landscape for not only the current generations, but the people who follow. Because the sheer growth in visitor use is putting pressure on that same landscape. So how can you enable people to have access to it, but still manage it so it's looked after and not ruined? And I would suggest that everybody around the whole landscape in New Zealand who work in conservation have all got the same challenge. To look after what we've got.*
> (Eric, Government Representative)

A camping entrepreneur felt that these impacts could be significantly minimised through the provision of user-pays facilities:

> *The reality is, is that no matter how responsible you want to be – there's limited options in a lot of places in New Zealand…The idea that if the user pays for what they use, not for what other people use, that's fair. And if everybody pays, that means that the local rate-payer and the local councils who sometimes have very small rate-payer bases, don't have to foot the bill…And basically take all those impacts off the environment and off the local community.*
> (David, Camping Entrepreneur)

While many of the camping managers agreed about the negative impact of these campers, there were varied opinions about whether Basic Budgeters are aware of these impacts. Some camping managers felt that the campers simply did not realise the impact of their behaviour, while others attributed the behaviour to age or cultural background. One camping manager explained why cultural background might contribute to a camper's impact on the environment:

> *I think Kiwis have grown up with camping, so they sort of understand about their impact on the environment. As the demographic of tourists change, I think there's a lot of people who haven't been exposed to camping… they probably don't have the same level of understanding of their impact on their environment—why we don't tip dishwater into a stream.*
> (Evan, Government Representative)

Another camping manager suggested that age is also a factor in the behaviour of Basic Budgeters:

> *The thing that most people don't get—most people hate freedom campers, absolutely hate them—most of them are 18 year old kids, from all over the world. They're here to have a holiday, they're here to have fun. They're not evil or malicious, they're just dumb. They're just 18—I was dumb when I was 18. Even if they might leave a bit of rubbish, you don't need to string them up and have a mob chase them out of town, you can just explain what they're doing, why it's not alright—they'll learn pretty quick!*
> (David, Camping Entrepreneur)

5.4.2 Fake self-containment

Another aspect of the Basic Budgeters which was also discussed frequently is the idea of 'fake self-containment'. A large number of the camping managers reported that a proportion of Basic Budgeters display false or unwarranted self-containment certifications (see 2.2.2) on their vehicles. This opinion was so widespread among the camping managers that it was sometimes not even explicitly stated, but merely implied to the researcher as though common knowledge. One camping manager gestured quotation marks around the words 'self-contained' to indicate that he did not believe the campers were self-contained:

> *I've heard one term called 'crappervans' – the budget end where [the vehicle]'s done 400,000 ks and it's been through about 29 owners and it's supposed to be 'self-contained' [Gestures quotation marks and laughs].*
> (Eric Government Representative)

These other campground owners put the same satirical emphasis on the words 'self-contained':

> *The ones that are coming in a glorified car. And they've got the 'self-containment sticker' – New Zealand's really gotta look at themselves over that.*
> (Ellen and Vince, Campground Owners)

Although fake self-containment was often referred to with humour, behind this humour was a thinly-veiled expression of frustration about the lack of monitoring of the self-containment certification rules in New Zealand. Although some of the camping managers blamed the campers themselves for this, the general sense was that the lack of monitoring of the

certification was the main problem. This was because the camping managers believed that some campers may hire a van without understanding the rules. As one camping manager said:

> *In our district, you've got to be able to hold so many litres of water, you've got to have your toilet out at all times, it can't be tucked under the bed when you're not using it…And a lot of them too are buying these vans thinking that they're actually buying a self-contained vehicle, and then find out that they're not. So you've got to feel sorry for those people.*
> (Bridget, Campground Owner)

Overall, the camping managers felt that the current self-containment certification process was not working due to the ease of faking self-containment. One camping manager suggested making the process similar to a Warrant of Fitness, which all vehicles in New Zealand must obtain to be road-worthy:

> *We want controlled freedom camping…with an absolute singular and controllable means to certify vehicles with self-containment. You've got to go get a warrant of fitness however often it is, why don't you have a warrant of fitness process, instead of just getting a blue sticker? I drive along the road and I get incensed, I see beat-up old vans with not even a bed in it with the self-contained sticker, it's just bullshit*
> (David, Camping Entrepreneur)

These findings seem to suggest that the current self-containment certification process is not working in the eyes of the camping managers. While Standards New Zealand's 2011 self-containment standard outlines the requirements for gaining a self-containment certification warrant and sticker from a testing officer—including the requirement for a renewal every four years—it does not specify any means through which this should be monitored (Standards New Zealand, 2011). Consequently, it could be concluded that the camping managers' perception of the prevalence of fake self-containment could be reduced by a change to the self-containment standard which includes monitoring and checks.

5.4.3 Community Reaction

In addition to the confusion described at the start of this chapter around the 'freedom camping' term, many of the camping managers felt that local community's understanding of the differences between Self-Sufficient Spenders and Basic Budgeters was not sufficient. While the local community might often class all vehicle-based campers as 'freedom

campers', the camping managers identified a number of key differences between the groups. These differences included self-containment, demographics, and money-spending behaviour. As a result, it was often suggested to be inappropriate to consider both groups together. As one camping manager explained:

> *There are two very different groups. And you've got to remember that there's two groups, because these people who go and spend the money to hire these big self-contained vans…they should not be put in the same box as the other ones that are just coming in with no money, get the cheapest smelliest car, and want to camp around New Zealand on the smell of an oily rag. So you've really got to be careful that you don't tarnish them with the same brush.*
> (Bridget, Campground Owner)

Furthermore, as with the Self-Sufficient Spenders, the self-containment status of the Basic Budgeters seemed to be the main criterion for categorising the campers. As such, the appearance of a vehicle was often suggested to dictate the behaviour of its occupants, as well as the reaction of the camping managers and the community towards the campers. For example, simply travelling in a non-self-contained vehicle could cause campers to experience opposition from local communities. One camping manager recounted a situation where she experienced this pushback personally:

> *We've got a combi-van and it's not self-contained, so we can't freedom camp anywhere. And we always stay in a holiday park…We pulled up to a golf course for my mother and father in law's 70th wedding anniversary… and this guy came straight out at us and said "you can't freedom camp here!". And we went "we're not freedom campers, we're here for lunch! In fact, we own a holiday park!".*
> (Bridget, Campground Owner)

As a result, the camping managers felt that the community viewed Basic Budgeters fairly negatively due to both the perceived lack of benefits, and perceived negative impacts of their behaviour. A number of the campground owners suggested that Basic Budgeters were responsible for various negative and illegal behaviours—including stealing, lighting fires, and dumping rubbish—both in their campgrounds and in the wider community. Consequently, the camping managers believed that this group of campers was responsible for negative community perceptions around camping in their communities. One camping manager suggested that these impacts mean that the term 'freedom camping' is not an appropriate way to describe the camping-style of the Basic Budgeters:

> *It isn't free, it's not freedom. There's a cost to the environment, there's a cost to the communities, there's a cost to bring up the standard. And for New Zealand to say that actually we want to look after the environment, and we are gonna put infrastructure in for that, it does come at a cost. So it isn't free.*
> (Nancy, Government Representative)

Furthermore, due to the belief amongst the camping managers that local residents tend not to differentiate between the Self-Sufficient Spenders and the Basic Budgeters, the negative behaviours of the latter group could threaten the social license to operate for all camping in New Zealand. This would be of particular concern for the next group, the Kiwi Classics, for whom camping is perceived to be a traditional 'right'.

5.5 Kiwi Classics

The final group of campers who were frequently mentioned by the camping managers were the Kiwi Classics. Unlike the other two groups of campers, this style of camping has frequently been discussed in the New Zealand camping literature (Collins & Kearns, 2010; Department of Conservation, 2006).

Figure 14: A generic portrayal of a Kiwi Camper (Image by Espiner, 2019)

These campers were characterised as domestic families or couples in caravans and tents, who camp annually at the same campground. This style of camping was spoken of quite positively by the camping managers, but also as rather inevitable, due to it being the 'traditional' Kiwi approach to camping in New Zealand. Most of the camping managers either still engage in this camping-style themselves, or have done so in the past. Once again, the themes discussed by the camping managers in relation to this group will be broken down

into three sub-sections: the notion of tradition, the attachment to campgrounds, and the premiumisation of Kiwi Classics camping.

5.5.1 Tradition

The camping managers consistently referred to this group as “Kiwis” (a colloquial name for New Zealanders), and as such this term will be used to describe New Zealanders in this section. It may be noteworthy to mention that the use of the word ‘Kiwi’ by the camping managers might imply more than just being from New Zealand, but suggest certain positive aspects of New Zealand culture which are considered to be unique, defining, or even patriotic. This was evident in the sense of pride or shared understanding between the camping managers and the researcher in discussions which referred to “Kiwis”. This is possibly because a large proportion of the other groups of campers are perceived to be international tourists, and as such this group which only includes New Zealand campers might be perceived to share more in common with the camping managers, resulting in a bias based on similarity. This seems a likely explanation, based on the fact that almost all of the camping managers mentioned personal experiences with camping in New Zealand at some point their lives. In all of these instances, the camping managers described their camping experiences in New Zealand fondly. One camping manager considered camping to be a traditional New Zealand family custom:

> *I grew up in this area, and I think it’s a bit of a traditional Kiwi thing going camping at Christmas time and long weekends.*
> (Evan, Government Representative)

Another camping manager suggested that New Zealanders are raised to enjoy camping in the outdoors:

> *We were raised that you go and pull up and pitch your tent and you enjoy the outdoors.*
> (Frank, Government Representative)

In one of the interviews, the campground owners described camping as “the New Zealand way of life”, with the ‘Kiwi Camper’ style of camping occurring in their campground since as early as the 1950s:

> *When we bought this place, the original owner came and introduced us. And he showed us a lot of photos and stuff of what camping was like in*

> *those days…and that was a way back in the what, fifties?...people were going then in their old canvas tents, that's what they were camping in. And it's just got a little bit more sophisticated…If they cancelled camping right through the valley, I think there'd be a helluva outcry, there really would. It's the New Zealand way of life, that's what people did, went camping.*
> (Ellen and Vince, Campground Owners)

Another aspect of tradition which was discussed by the camping managers in relation to the Kiwi Classics was the idea of returning cohorts. Many of the campground owners mentioned how the same families will return to a campground year after year. One camping manager described this phenomenon of families returning to the campground as a family holiday space:

> *Our campsites are used by New Zealanders, largely coming from Canterbury and Otago, who use that as their family holiday space. A number of them have been doing it for three/four generations—using exactly the same site, with exactly the same neighbours, camping in exactly the same way where Kiwis turn up and pitch tents, stay there in their caravans, and that's where they hang out basically for their summer holidays.*
> (Frank, Government Representative)

According to the camping managers, a salient aspect of this family holiday space is the cohort of other families who also return to the same campground each year. Two campground owners explained how at the Waitaki Lakes campgrounds in particular, the children will return to meet up with the same children each year:

> *Because all the kids meet up with the same kids – they only see them once a year. So they meet up with the same kids again next year*
> (Ellen and Vince, Campground Owners)

Further to this, the camping managers explained that when the children grow up, they return to the campground with their own children. One group of campground owners described camping at the Waitaki Lakes as a family tradition, which is passed down through generations:

> *And they gather up there, it's like a communal-type thing. All their friends are back up there again this year for camping, and it's a tradition. The kids go there every year and when they grow up, they take their kids there.*
> (Malcom, Karen and Graham, Campground Owners)

This phenomenon of multi-generational camping was described quite romantically by one camping entrepreneur as something which also occurs across New Zealand:

> *So you camp with your dad as a little girl, those memories you have will always make you feel warm and fuzzy inside. And one day you'll go back and take your children. And this is exactly what we see, we see multi-generational travel. Grandad kicking the ball with his son, and mum is sitting over here. That sort of multi-generational stuff, that stuff will never go away. And the desire from all of us as human beings to connect, to have quality time with each other and all of those sorts of things, that's what I'm hoping will keep us in our world where we camp from a young age, going forever.*
> (Eddie, Camping Entrepreneur)

In the case of these two campground owners, the phenomena of returning cohorts and multi-generational camping were also described romantically—but using quite a different example:

> *We've got a couple here – they met when they were kids and they went their separate ways. And then they met again later in life and now they're married, but they met here and camped together. And they got married here and they've got a caravan here.*
> (Ellen and Vince, Campground Owners)

As such, the camping culture of the Kiwi Classics was perceived to be tied to tradition and multi-generational intra-family camping. In addition to this, however, there were also perceived to be inter-family camping traditions between multiple returning families. These traditions were believed to be passed down through generations of Kiwi Classics, and may even result in life-long relationships.

5.5.2 Attachment to camping spot

Another aspect of this group of campers which was mentioned by the camping managers is the attachment of these campers to a particular campground or camping spot. Although camping spot attachment is a phenomenon which is widely acknowledged in the camping literature (Collins & Kearns, 2010; Department of Conservation, 2006), in this case it was only perceived to be relevant to the Kiwi Classics group. This is likely because the Self-Sufficient Spenders and Basic Budgeters are more mobile, and as such they are less likely to form an attachment to a particular site. It is possible that the Self-Sufficient Spenders and

Basic Budgeters instead form an attachment to their vehicles—as suggested by Steer-Fowler and Brunt (2018), who refer to this phenomenon as 'space attachment'.

The idea of camping spot attachment was particularly salient in the Waitaki District around the Waitaki Lakes. This is possibly due to the fact that these campgrounds are well-established, and therefore have allowed multiple generations to camp at and form an attachment with a particular campground or camping spot. One camping manager described the campgrounds as a "home away from home" for the Kiwi Classics:

> *So they typically pitch their tents or park their caravans there for 20 odd weeks of the year… it's third and fourth generation families coming back to these sites because that's what their holidays have always been, and they want to do the same with their kids. Basically it's their home away from home.*
> (Frank, Government Representative)

In one of the interviews with campground owners who are situated close to the Waitaki Lakes, the camping managers humorously explained the extent to which the Kiwi Classics are attached to their camping spots by the Lakes:

> *We've always thought we'd like to go up to the lakes when they open it up, because we've heard so many stories about what goes on up there on that first day…They've got their spots. And I talked to a couple of guys here, they went up to Sailors Cutting to go boating. But they flagged it and finished because there was that many people having fights and arguments that they just stood back and watched! They didn't go boating at all. They just watched all this hoo-ha that was going on about people going on a site that Frank had been there for the last 30 years, and people walking around pulling tent pegs out and ripping tents down!*
> (Ellen and Vince, Campground Owners)

This degree of attachment means that many of the Kiwi Classics arrive with their caravans on the first day that the camping season opens for the summer to secure their spots. Further to this, some of the campers put up fences around their site on arrival to ensure that no one else can claim it. These campground owners explained this phenomenon:

> *They line up. And say it's the 31st of September is the day it's gonna open, on the 30th, they're parked outside the gate so that they get their spot. It's unbelievable.*
> (Ellen and Vince, Campground Owners)

Another group of campground owners described the experience of being in the Waitaki Valley on the weekend that the camping season begins:

> *It's quite funny being here, you know on that day before or the morning of the camping ground opening, there's just a constant stream of caravans, because they can buy a season site…they take their caravan up, and then they take their boat up and fence off a compound.*
> (Noel, Louise and Henry, Campground Owners)

Nonetheless, the camping managers perceived the Waitaki Valley community to be in favour of the Kiwi Classics camping tourism. In contrast to the perceived onslaught of camping tourism in the Mackenzie District, the arrival of the Kiwi Classics in the Waitaki Valley was perceived very positively. These campground owners described the Kiwi Classics camping tourism as beneficial to the whole community:

> *The community welcomes them with open arms. This is what [our town] does…Everyone in the town is focussed on the tourists and the families that come here for holidays. They don't get annoyed with anyone, they just know just before Christmas – everybody takes a bit of a breather two weeks before Christmas. 24th of December, it's like somebody pushes a button. And then it's just streams of people coming in. And everybody does their bit, you know, the garage doing punctures and filling gas bottles and selling the ski biscuit that they've left behind at home and forgot to bring. And the cafes do really well, the wineries do really well – everyone does well.*
> (Ellen and Vince, Campground Owners)

Overall, while the Kiwi Classics were described as creating a certain chaos in communities over the camping season—including fights over camping spots—this group of campers was still perceived very positively by the camping managers. Once again, this might be due to the perceived similarity of these campers to the camping managers, or it might be due to the seasonality of the Kiwi Classics' camping, which gives communities a break over the winter.

5.5.3 To premiumisation and back

Another trend among the Kiwi Classics which was mentioned by a number of the camping managers was the move towards modern comforts in camping equipment. In particular, one theme which was prevalent across many of the interviews was the increasing popularity of caravans for Kiwi Classics. This was believed to be for a number of reasons, including that caravans were perceived to be more comfortable. As these campground owners explained:

> *Yeah so 20 years ago there was a lot of tents, but now people have upgraded to caravans because they're just a lot more comfortable.*
> (Ellen and Vince, Campground Owners)

Because of this perception of the comfort, caravans were perceived to be popular among the older baby-boomer Kiwi Classics:

> *It used to be predominantly tents but now most people have gone to caravans as people get older and that sort of thing. There's still a lot of people in tents in the summer, don't get me wrong. A lot of the younger ones have got tents, but an awful lot of the regulars that we get are in caravans.*
> (Ellen and Vince, Campground Owners)

One camping manager labelled this shift from tents to caravans as 'premiumisation'. He explained this term:

> *More and more we're moving to premiumise. So what I mean by that is you're starting to see things like you can get a powered site with its own toilet – so you get ensuite facilities so you don't have to use the communal ones. The next evolution of that will be a powered site with its own toilet and with its own hot tub. So you'll get out of your campervan and you'll have your own little zone that'll be protected with plantings. And there will be a toilet, and there will be a hot tub. But there's also been a migration from tents to campervans and caravans, and from campervans and caravans to roofed accommodation.*
> (Eddie, Camping Entrepreneur)

This camping entrepreneur explained what this premiumisation looks like for Kiwi Classics, using the example of his own experience of camping:

> *Now the difference being is now when you go camping with your tent, you've got your plug-in, because you want a tent-site with power; you've got your multi-box there so the whole family can have their phones lined up at night; you've got your fridge plugged in; you've got your Christmas lights up in the trees and things like that…I look at my father in-law who's 70, and what he thinks he needs to go camping: he goes with one pot, one two-burner – one for the food and one for a cup of tea – and a funny old canvas tent that doesn't look very comfortable, and very basic camping mattress or fold-out stretcher bed. And I'll say to him, I'll go camping as much as you, but there's four things I've got to have – I've got to be warm, I've got to be dry, I've got to be comfortable, I've got to be able to keep my drinks cold, and I want decent food!*
> (Eddie, Camping Entrepreneur)

Other camping managers supported this idea that the Kiwi Classics are always looking to premiumise their camping equipment. One campground owner described what she thought the future of camping would look like in her campground:

> *Camping in the future? Definitely caravans, definitely more motorhomes. And for us thinking forward to the future too, we've got to look at the size of our sites, because the Kiwis are bringing more toys! Those that can afford it, they bring their boats, they bring their jetskis, their two cars, the kids will have their bikes and they'll have these huge big tents.*
> (Bridget, Campground Owner)

However, the same camping manager who introduced the term of premiumisation believed that alongside this process, an opposite process was occurring across New Zealand. That is to say, as a reaction to the increasing comforts and technology now available in camping equipment, some New Zealanders were trying to go 'back to basics'. This camping entrepreneur explained this phenomenon:

> *People have moved away from tents as we've premiumised, and are now going back to tents, because it's basic. People actually want places where there's no WiFi. I go to Gore Bay with my family…why do I camp there? Because there's no WiFi, there's no cellphone coverage. They haven't got a word to say to anyone for the first 24 hours, they don't know what they've lost because they haven't got their little screen with them, and suddenly they start – it's like you see these slow-motion movies where the grass grows, you see these fern-fronds unfolding – and that's exactly what happens to people.*
> (Eddie, Camping Entrepreneur)

Another camping manager agreed with the idea that some New Zealanders want to keep camping basic, offering the example that while international travellers are often in campervans, New Zealanders are usually in tents:

> *The Kiwis still want to camp, but everyone else wants to get into campervans.*
> (Bridget, Campground Owner)

Overall, the camping managers had noticed a process of premiumisation taking place among the Kiwi Campers–with increasing quantities and quality of camping equipment and technology. For some of the Kiwi Campers, this premiumisation has included a shift towards caravans. On the other hand, the camping managers felt that a proportion of New Zealanders had started to move away from this 'premiumisation' of camping towards a 'back to basics' style of camping. Although these 'back to basics' Kiwi Classics were not discussed

in depth by the camping managers, this may be a phenomenon which increases in the future alongside increasing 'premiumisation'.

5.6 Chapter Summary

It is a common practice to categorise people into distinctive groups in order to more easily navigate the world around us (Jussim & Rubenstein, 2016). Accordingly, during the interviews, a number of camping managers categorised the campers in the Mackenzie Basin and Waitaki Valley into clear groups in order to make sense of camping in their jurisdictions. These groups—referred to here as the Self-Sufficient Spenders, the Basic Budgeters, and the Kiwi Classics—were perceived with varying levels of positivity or negativity. Overall, the Kiwi Classics and Self-Sufficient Spenders tended to be regarded positively—albeit for different reasons—while the Basic Budgeters were generally regarded negatively. Furthermore, the Kiwi Classics were perceived to be most prevalent in the Waitaki District, while the Mackenzie District was perceived to attract more Basic Budgeters. Understanding how the camping managers perceive and represent the various types of campers in the Mackenzie Basin and Waitaki Valley can help us to understand how camping is changing in New Zealand. This is because previous conceptualisations of camping in New Zealand have focussed on a group of campers most similar to Kiwi Classics (Collins & Kearns, 2010; Department of Conservation, 2006), and references to campers similar to Basic Budgeters and Self-Sufficient Spenders have only emerged in the last decade (Collins et al., 2017; Kearns et al., 2016; Responsible Camping Working Group, 2018). Consequently, the camping managers' representations of campers in the Waitaki Valley and Mackenzie Basin would suggest that in the last decade, new forms of camping which are more mobile than in the past have become increasingly popular. In this vein, the next chapter will explore the movement of campers in the Waitaki Valley and Mackenzie Basin, as explained by the camping managers.

Chapter 6

Movement

6.1 Introduction

The movement component of Cresswell (2010)'s concepts of mobilities concerns *how* things move through space and time. Cresswell (2010) describes movement as the "raw material for the production of mobility"(p.19)—implying that without the raw material of physical movement of campers, there would be no meanings or experiences associated with that movement. Movement was a topic which was frequently discussed and emphasised across all of the interviews. In particular, the camping managers often discussed how vehicles move through time and space. The concept of movement does not only entail physical movement of tangible objects, however, but the movement of ideas and information as well. The movement of information between campers, between managers, and between campers and managers was also frequently mentioned. As such, this chapter will examine the various forms of movement which were discussed by the camping managers—including the movement of campers, as well as the movement of information between various camping stakeholders. Finally the chapter will finish with a discussion of the various social tensions created by movement of campers and information in the case study area.

6.2 Vehicle-movement patterns

Across the two districts, the camping managers reported that campers tend to move in certain patterns. These patterns were described in a number of ways, including how, when and where the vehicles move and stop. These aspects of vehicle-movement can be interpreted using some of Cresswell (2010)'s six elements of the politics of mobility. These elements represent a way of simplifying movement, representation and practice into smaller components to understand the politics of mobility. The elements discussed in relation to vehicle-movement will be rhythm, friction, and route.

6.2.1 Rhythm

Rhythm—one of the six elements of the politics of mobility described by Cresswell (2010)—refers to "repeated moments of movement and rest"(p.23). This is highly relevant to camping, which is essentially made up of repeated movements (travel to the campground) and rest (the camping itself). The rhythm of movement described by the camping managers varied between the types of campers.

Rhythm of Self-Sufficient Spenders and Basic Budgeters

For the Self-Sufficient Spenders and the Basic Budgeters, movement between sites was perceived to occur most days. Many of the camping managers commented on how these campers tended to stay only one or two nights at a site. As one camping manager explained:

> *A lot of the campervans are only 1 or 2 nighters. Seldom do we get a campervan here for 3 or 4. They're normally on a bit of a timeframe to see as much as they can before they go home.*
> (Vaughn, Campground Owner)

Another camping manager agreed with this, but also added that this might vary depending on whether a camper is domestic or international:

> *Domestic ones probably spend longer in one spot, whereas someone international in a motor home would probably spend one or two nights, and then move onto somewhere else.*
> (Nancy, Regional Tourism Organisation)

As mentioned in Chapter 5, this frequency of movement is backed up by CamperMate data sourced during the interview process (GeoZone, 2019), which found that of those using the CamperMate App, the large majority of users across the two districts did not stay overnight, and only a small percentage of users stayed longer than one night. This is rather surprising, considering that January is considered to be a 'peak' in the camping season, and has the highest number of total guest nights for the year across both Mackenzie and Waitaki Districts (Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, 2019c, 2019d). This data encompasses Self-Sufficient Spenders and Basic Budgeters, as these two groups do at least some freedom camping during their trip. Based on the Selwyn District Council survey which found that 71 percent of freedom campers used a mobile application to find accommodation (Selwyn District Council, 2017), it can be inferred that the Self-Sufficient Spenders and Basic Budgeters would be likely to use a mobile camping application such as CamperMate to find

campgrounds. As such, there is a clear tendency both in the interview data and the CamperMate data towards these campers moving quickly through the districts, with only a small percentage even staying overnight at all.

Despite the fact that the Self-Sufficient Spenders and Basic Budgeters were perceived to move with a similar frequency, there was a subtle difference in the duration of movement which contributed to a slightly altered perception of rhythm. Cresswell (2010) argues that the rhythm with which things move is important to the overall perception of that movement, with some rhythms of movement perceived as 'right', while others are 'wrong'. This is consistent with the way in which the camping managers tended to characterise the differences in rhythm between the Self-Sufficient Spenders and the Basic Budgeters. The Basic Budgeters were perceived to be travelling for "months on end", while the Self-Sufficient Spenders were perceived to be on a shorter time-frame of approximately 8-10 days. This subtle difference between the two groups was often used to explain why Basic Budgeters were 'wrong' and Self-Sufficient Spenders 'right'. As one camping manager complained:

> *Because a lot of [Self-Sufficient Spenders] get a campervan in Christchurch, they're here for 7 days, they wanna stay a night in Tekapo, Mount Cook, and then they go to either Wanaka or Queenstown, Milford, Te Anau, back to Queenstown and fly home. And that's 7 or 8 days just like that, that's their holiday. But these [Basic Budgeters] are here for months on end. A lot of the [Basic Budgeters], the young ones, are here for a month or more in their shitty old car that they sleep in.*
> (Vaughn, Campground Owner)

As such, rhythms of movement and rest which spanned a short duration were considered to be preferable to rhythms of long duration, regardless of frequency of movement. As one camping manager put it:

> *The shorter time they're staying, the less trouble they're making.*
> (Hector, Government Representative)

This is possibly due to the perceived harmful effects of a long-term stay if campers are relying on community facilities and infrastructure. As one camping manager commented:

> *I don't think that they understand that if they camp for three weeks in New Zealand, how much they're using the local resources – as in public toilets, and showering in places where they shouldn't be.*
> *(Evan, Government Representative)*

On the other hand, research from MBIE has found that compared to other campers, freedom campers stay longer and spend more overall—but spend less per day (Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, 2019a). As such, in order to spend less per day, the freedom camping Basic Budgeters may pass through small towns without spending any money. Consequently, the camping managers in those towns would perceive them as not being beneficial to local economies—despite the fact that they might spend more money in New Zealand overall. Furthermore, the Basic Budgeters are observed to spend their money in places which are not greatly beneficial to communities— such as large supermarket chains and petrol stations. This is in comparison to other campers, who are perceived to spend money across the tourism industry. As one campground owner commented of the Basic Budgeters:

> *They'll freedom camp their way around New Zealand, and then they'll get to Queenstown and spend a shitload of money on jumping out of a plane or whatever, and in the mean time they've not contributed anything to the people on the way. I say it's only the beer people and the noodle people that do alright out of them!*
> (Bridget, Campground Owner)

Rhythm of Kiwi Classics

The Kiwi Classics, on the other hand, were described as moving in a different way. According to the camping managers, these campers tend to travel to a campground once a year and stay there for an extended period of time—anywhere from several days, to several months. This extended stay often requires a large amount of equipment to be moved from the home to the campground. One camping manager explained the set-up at the Waitaki Lakes:

> *Even years ago when we used to camp up there, people would take a lawnmower, and the people beside us had a stainless steel sink that they used to set up…our shower was just a bucket that you pull up in a tree. And that's the way we wanted it.*
> (Ellen and Vince, Campground Owners)

In addition to this annual pilgrimage to set up the camping equipment, some of the Kiwi Classics were reported to leave their caravan on-site for the full 7-month camping season, and travel back and forth between home and the campground intermittently. This was particularly the case in campgrounds which offer a season pass for camping. One camping manager described this phenomenon:

> *They have locals who pay for a season's pass, and I think it's Labour Weekend they go and put their caravan in the spot that it's going to be for the rest of the summer. And they'll go in there and they'll stay over Labour Weekend, and then over Christmas/New Year, and then they're there at Easter, and I think that's when they tow their vans away.*
> (Irene, Campground Owner)

Consequently, despite the potential to view the Kiwi Classics as immobile—compared to the nightly movements of the other two groups of campers—there is still a great deal of movement involved in the camping practices of the Kiwi Classics, but with a different rhythm.

The duration of stay of the Kiwi Classics was also frequently mentioned by the camping managers. Opinions of the impact of the typical longer-duration stay of the Kiwi Classics were mixed. Some camping managers felt that the long-stay Kiwi Classics had fewer negative impacts than other campers:

> *The overnighters – they steal stuff, break stuff, they don't care because they're not coming back. But the long-terms ones that are onsite here, yeah they've got a lot more respect. And not only that, everyone gets on real well.*
> (Ellen and Vince, Campground Owners)

Another campground owner also felt that Kiwi Classics families were not to blame for any negative impacts associated with camping:

> *I think it's great that families go camping. It's a cheap holiday for a lot of people and it's awesome...Although it's not the families that are buggering it up for everybody, it's the 18-25 year old, want everything for nothing overseas campers coming in…It's the 20-30% that seem to wreck it for everyone else.*
> (Vaughn, Campground Owner)

On the other hand, a number of camping managers also suggested that Kiwi Classics have more negative impacts, because they bring more equipment and noise, and leave more rubbish.

> *Kiwis are much more hard work…Kiwis have lawn mowers, generators, parties, dogs, fires, motorbikes... and overseas tourists don't have any of those things…the Kiwis sort of set up for a fortnight or so, and that's when they bring in all the other stuff – the lawnmowers, the bats and balls, that sort of thing.*
> (Hector, Government Representative)

It is possible that these differences in opinion about the impacts of the Kiwi Classics are based on past experiences, because all of the camping managers had engaged in this form of camping themselves. On the other hand, it is much easier to attribute negative impacts to people who are more dissimilar or foreign to oneself (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971)—particularly young internationals, since most of the camping managers were older New Zealanders. Nonetheless, the rhythms—or periods of movement and rest—were perceived to be different between the groups of campers, regardless of the negative or positive attributions these rhythms received.

6.2.2 Friction

Another of Cresswell (2010)'s six elements of the politics of mobility which is pertinent to the patterns of movement which were discussed by the camping managers is friction. Friction describes where, when, and how movement stops, including the reason for stopping. The political nature of friction—whether one has a choice in where, why, and how one stops—directly relates to campground choice. In order to dispel the many definitions of power, in this context 'power' refers to the degree of influence over movement which campers possess in comparison to other stakeholders. It could be argued that campers—particularly those who are self-contained—have a great deal of power in choosing where to camp. This is because the Freedom Camping Act 2011 allows self-contained campers to camp anywhere on public land, unless it has been explicitly prohibited (New Zealand Government, 2011). Nonetheless, the camping managers generally felt that campground choice for Self-Sufficient Spenders and Basic Budgeters was based on the information available on mobile camping applications, rather than personal volition. As one camping manager commented:

> *I don't think there's many actually pull over on the side. They mostly know where to go. They've all got apps on their phone, they know exactly where they're going, what they wanna do.*
> (Vaughn, Campground Owner)

Consequently, while the campers theoretically have the agency to decide where to stop, the camping managers felt that mobile applications actually have more power in where campers stop. With this power comes a degree of responsibility for the owners of mobile applications

to provide accurate information which does not have adverse effects on communities or the environment. One camping entrepreneur recognised this responsibility:

> *The businesses behind the apps have an obligation to help with campsite management…Like we for example use artificial intelligence to try and manage the numbers of people going to freedom campsites like that. We create a whole lot of responsible camping material in German, French and Chinese. Videos, for example, that show people how to camp responsibly…So we've sort of played it fairly responsibly.*
> (Ben, Camping Entrepreneur)

In addition to the influence of mobile applications, other camping stakeholders were variously perceived to be responsible for where friction occurs. Some of the camping managers suggested that commercial campgrounds possess a degree of power over friction through how much they charge for a site. In discussing the popularity of free sites, one camping manager suggested that the solution is in the hands of campground owners:

> *If you were to look at a business sort of thing, and you are a camping ground owner, the question I'd be asking myself is "why aren't they staying with me?". And if the answer is that it's price-driven, well there's only one person with the power to change that, and that's the camping ground owner.*
> (Evan, Government Representative)

On the other hand, several campground owners felt that councils have more power than commercial campgrounds over where campers stop. In particular, one campground owner felt that councils have a responsibility to rate-paying campground owners to encourage campers to stop at commercial campgrounds, particularly during winter. While friction—or stopping—occurs for a number of reasons, this campground owner felt that she could not compete with free council-run sites in terms of encouraging campers to stop during winter:

> *We're only busy for a short period of time…We've got enough camps here and freedom camping spots and Motor Caravan parks to cater for everybody in the summer. But in the winter, those free spots should be shut.*
> *(Bridget, Campground Owner)*

One of the government representatives had yet another stance on the issue, however. This government representative expressed frustration around campground owners' misunderstandings of camping legislation, and the degree of power over friction which councils realistically possess:

> *I can't change anything. I had a suggestion from a camping ground owner…he told me that it was my duty to ban freedom camping in the Mackenzie District so that they were using these businesses. But I can't ban freedom camping. I can't ignore the Freedom Camping Act – that's the overarching legislation that controls all this…there's no use knocking on my door telling me that the law's broken. Because I don't have the power to change it anyway.*
> (Evan, Government Representative)

Consequently, most of the camping managers agreed that mobile camping applications have significant power over where friction occurs. When it comes to other stakeholders, however, each managerial group perceived the power over friction, or stopping, to be the responsibility of a different stakeholder group. Consequently, all of the camping manager groups—except for camping entrepreneurs—felt that they had limited power over friction, compared to the other stakeholder groups.

The time of day when the campers stop is another element of friction which was discussed by the camping managers. While in the past, campers might have been compelled to arrive at a campground during daylight hours (because of the need to set up a tent), the increasing trend towards vehicle-camping today meant that campers were perceived to arrive at all times of the night. One camping manager explained this movement:

> *I've had people arriving at 2am in the morning. Don't know where they've come from!...We've had experience with people who've hired the van, they've got off their plane, arrived in Christchurch, gone to the rental company, signed for the vehicle and away they've gone, and we are the first location they've actually stopped overnight at. And so we've even had the comment "where are we?"*
> (Eric, Government Representative)

Another camping manager mentioned this late-night movement with some frustration, as it was perceived to be inconvenient for campgrounds, but also as a way for Basic Budgeters to escape paying for a site:

> *Well the caretaker obviously drives around. And he'll do a check at night-time. But people come in at midnight, and he's not gonna be there at midnight. And they know, they'll just park up beside the lake and say "no we're not staying here", and then move into the designated camping areas. And then they push off really early.*
> (Ellen and Vince, Campground Owners)

As such, the late or unpredictable time of day when some campers stop their movement was a source of frustration for many camping managers, as a lack of routine rhythm and friction

makes management more difficult. This was particularly the case for campground owners or those responsible for monitoring compliance, as the current compliance and management systems require a camping manager to interact with the camper—regardless of the time of day the camper arrives. Some camping managers suggested that this system is out-dated, and the campground owners' frustration is a symptom of their inability to adapt to the changing market. Perhaps unsurprisingly, camping entrepreneurs were particularly adept at identifying this tension:

> *One of the big issues is that campsites especially have failed to adapt to that changing market. So there's articles if you look to the media, there's articles over the last five years of campgrounds going broke all over New Zealand. And I'm going – hold up, there's more campers on the roads than there's ever been, how are you going broke? And what it comes down to is they're not offering what the campers want.*
> (David, Camping Entrepreneur)

The final aspect of friction discussed by the camping managers was the reason for stopping to camp in the Mackenzie Basin or Waitaki Valley. In the Mackenzie Basin, stopping was perceived to occur either because the campers felt forced to stop —for example if a camper is tired from driving—or because the campers intended to visit a specific tourist attraction in the area—such as Aoraki/Mount Cook National Park or Lake Tekapo. In terms of feeling forced to stop, one camping manager mentioned that international campers often do not realise how far away Queenstown is from Christchurch because they are not familiar with New Zealand roads.

> *I have run a few surveys about why people are camping. A lot of people pick up their motorhomes in Christchurch, a lot of the time they get to Tekapo and it's quite late at night. On the map, Queenstown looked quite close, but it's not that close. So I'll just park in the main street of a town.*
> (Evan, Government Representative)

Another camping manager felt that stopping in the Mackenzie Basin is mere convenience on the way to another destination, while stopping in the Waitaki is more intentional:

> *Well, they're on their way to somewhere, they're on their way to here [Aoraki/Mount Cook National Park]. If they are elsewhere in the Mackenzie. They're not just coming to the Mackenzie or the Waitaki. Except for maybe New Zealanders in the Waitaki, which is in the summer is lots of boating…that's a different demographic there.*
> (Simon, Government Representative)

It was also suggested, however, that stopping in the Waitaki could be unintentional if the campgrounds in the Mackenzie Basin on the way to Queenstown were full:

> *they go Timaru, through Tekapo, Omarama and that way, and miss out the Waitaki Lakes. But as they get full, they come down, and then go back to the main route.*
> (Ellen and Vince, Campground Owners)

Consequently, friction—or stopping—was determined by a number of factors, including the district, the time of day, the availability of campgrounds, and the information published on mobile camping applications. Mobile camping applications and government representatives in particular were perceived to have significant power in determining friction, due to the ability to provide and direct campers to places to stop. Campgrounds were perceived to be under-utilising their power, in the form of neglecting to adapt to the changing camping market. Overall, however, campers were perceived to have the most power to determine where to stop, due to the lack of restriction and monitoring of campers across the two districts. In terms of conceptualising a hierarchy to determine the politics of friction, campers were perceived to have the most power to determine stopping, followed by mobile camping applications, and then government representatives and campgrounds. It is possible that this perception of hierarchy is due to the fact that the majority of the participants fall into the latter two managerial groups. That is to say, if more participants were camping entrepreneurs, or if campers themselves had been interviewed, these power dynamics might be perceived differently. Nonetheless, as a result of the government representatives and campground owners perceiving themselves as having the least power over friction, there was a degree of tension and frustration among the camping managers—who felt this hierarchy should be reversed.

6.2.3 Route

The third element of the politics of mobility which is relevant to camper movement in the Mackenzie Basin and Waitaki Valley is route. Route describes the passages through which movement is directed. As Cresswell (2010) explains:

> *Mobility is channeled [sic]. It moves along routes and conduits often provided by conduits in space. It does not happen evenly over a continuous space like spilt water flowing over a tabletop. (p. 24)*

Although mobility may not be like spilt water flowing over a tabletop, the route of vehicle-movement patterns in the case study area could be conceptualised using a different water metaphor. Just as a river flows in a channelled passage to the sea joined by smaller tributaries, campers were perceived to be channelled between Christchurch and Queenstown, with the tributaries tracing up to Aoraki Mount Cook and down the Waitaki Valley. However, unlike a river, this flow of camper traffic was perceived to be multi-directional. A number of camping managers identified this route as the main channel for camper movement. The popularity of this route was perceived to create what Cresswell (2010) would call a 'tunnel' of movement through the Mackenzie Basin—in which certain points on a route are targeted for intense activity and interaction, while the space in between is transformed from topographical place into dromological[5] space. As one camping manager explained:

> *Majority of that freedom camping traffic…take that State Highway 1 route from Mount Cook down through to Wanaka…The majority of them just drive through, the majority don't actually stop. Where they stop tends to be such as Ahuriri Bridge where their DOC space is set up there. But otherwise they tend to pass through relatively quickly…So they're going through and hitting all those high profile tourist spots – you know, Mount Cook, then through to Queenstown and onwards.*
> (Frank, Government Representative)

Cresswell (2010) posits that tunnels such as this "facilitate speed for some while ensuring the slowness of those who are bypassed"(p.25). This relates to the perceived rush of vehicles and tourism revenue through the Mackenzie Basin, and the relative slowness of travel and business through the Waitaki Valley. This slowness in the Waitaki Valley was perceived positively by some of the camping managers:

> *I think we've got off reasonably lightly in the context of other districts. We haven't had the issues that the Mackenzie have had, or Queenstown, Cromwell, Lake Dunstan…There would be some businesses and so on in our community that would say "hey, we would have loved to have had them camping in our places for 3 or 4 nights". So from an economic community development point of view, yes it probably would have been nice, but from a managing assets and community problems point of view – yeah, nah, quite happy not to have had to do that!*
> (Frank, Government Representative)

[5] The science of speed

On the other hand, these campground owners felt that more traffic taking the route down the Waitaki Valley would be beneficial for the communities:

> *Well right through the valley, it's gonna help the valley, looking at the big picture! The more that happens up this valley, the better.*
> (Ellen and Vince, Campground Owners)

By breaking vehicle movement apart using three of Cresswell (2010)'s elements of the politics of mobility—rhythm, friction, and route—a number of power relations have been revealed. While some rhythms of movement were perceived as "right" and others "wrong", the friction of movement was believed to be driven by a hidden hierarchy, and the route of movement was observed to facilitate speed for some and slowness for others. All three of these political elements of mobility contribute to understanding how camping managers interpret the various forms of camping in the Waitaki Valley and Mackenzie Basin. However, vehicle-movement was not the only component of movement discussed by the camping managers. Understanding how information is perceived to move across the camping landscape can also contribute to untangling the camping managers' interpretations of camping in New Zealand in 2019. The next section will discuss the camping managers' perceptions of the movement of camper information.

6.3 Movement of information

The movement of information between various camping stakeholders and groups in New Zealand was a frequently discussed aspect of movement. This movement was believed to occur in a number of different forms, including between managers, between campers, and between campers and managers. These channels of information movement were associated with varying degrees of effectiveness.

6.3.1 Manager to manager

The movement of information between agencies was frequently mentioned by the camping managers, who generally felt that it was important to have collaboration across the board. Some of the camping managers implied that there was a sense of denial among the managers about the urgency to collaborate on camping management. As one camping manager suggested:

> *It'd be good to see all the mayors and all the CEOS and districts to get together and say "this is how we're gonna deal with freedom camping". But it's not going away, it's never gonna go away. The horse has bolted.*
> (Karl, Regional Tourism Organisation)

Another manager agreed with this, noting a potential negative implication of this denial:

> *I think regionally they all just need to get together and nut out how they're going to manage the landscape and look after the landscape, and then sort of accept that this is happening, and putting up barriers isn't actually going to stop it. And putting up barriers is just going to shift the problem to somewhere else, and you may not actually want it somewhere else.*
> (Eric, Government Representative)

Despite agreement about the importance of inter-agency collaboration, most of the camping managers felt that this was not happening currently. A number of camping managers suggested that camping management should be a shared responsibility among all camping stakeholders:

> *The government needs to be proactive, the regional councils need to be proactive, the campervan hiring places need to be proactive, we as holiday park owners or managers need to be proactive as well.*
> (Bridget, Campground Owner)

One camping manager suggested that the lack of collaboration between agencies is detrimental to campers' understandings of bylaws:

> *Every individual council and government agency works alone, and we need to actually get together and come up with some common themes…The bylaws for local councils are so confusing, that I understand why international travellers might get confused.*
> (Evan, Government Representative)

Nonetheless, there was a degree of optimism among the camping managers about the future of inter-agency and district collaboration. As one camping manager noted:

> *I kind of feel that we might be at a little bit of a cross-roads…Ten years ago we were all doing our own thing. All trying to do some great stuff, but it was disjointed, and there wasn't a great deal of collaboration. A very different scene today, where you've got very strong leadership from central government right down to local government and throughout the industry.*
> (Kevin, Camping Entrepreneur)

Another camping manager described a new agreement she initiated between three agencies to encourage this collaboration in the coming camping season:

> *We agreed what we'd do is do a pre-season meeting before the camping kicks off, and go "what do we want to achieve? What are some of the messages we're going to give people when they're camping in areas?". So trying to get some inter-agency collaboration with some consistency at the beginning of each year, and come back to that at the end and go "what went well? What actions do we need to take between now and the season kicking off again?"*
> (Nina, Government Representative)

Overall, the movement of information between camping managers was described to be not working very effectively currently, but the camping managers were optimistic about the future of inter-agency collaboration on camping management.

6.3.2 Manager to camper

The movement of information from managers to campers was another channel which some of the camping managers felt was not effectively managed. The current system for managers to communicate with campers was perceived to be heavily reliant on signage. The camping managers felt that this was problematic for a number of reasons, including that most campers arrive in vehicles so they may not stop to read signs, they may not be able to read English, or they may not feel obliged to abide by the rules if there is no evidence of these rules being enforced. One camping manager described how his approach to signage infrastructure was changing to adapt to the needs of campers:

> *I'm in the process of getting some additional signs installed in some of the hotspots. But I'm moving away from the DOC signs…Because most of the DOC sign system is designed for walking tracks, and if you're on a road system and the person is in a vehicle they've got to be able to see things at a reasonable distance to actually make an active decision on what they're doing.*
> (Eric, Government Representative)

A number of camping managers also suggested changing the approach of signage. One camping manager described the current approach to signage as 'negative':

> *There's still mixed messages in a lot of places. There's a lot of signs about "don't do this, don't do that, don't come here", and a very negative approach to it.*
> (Nancy, Regional Tourism Organisation)

Another camping manager agreed with this, adding that the current prohibitive focus could be changed to a more positive approach:

For years I think we've been concentrating on if there's a 'no camping sign' you can't camp, but we can't physically put enough 'no camping' signs out in the district. So we need to flip it on its head, and say to people "there will be a camping sign where you are allowed to camp. If you don't see any sign, it means no camping".
(Evan, Government Representative)

One camping manager also pointed out that signage in the Mackenzie District picturing tents (Figure 15) does not accurately reflect the nature of the district's camping by-law—which states that one must be self-contained to freedom camp anywhere in the district. Consequently, this camping manager felt that the signage was misguiding for tourists:

At Pukaki…there's a sign on the road – 2 or maybe 3 signs put up by Transit I'd imagine – with a picture of a tent and a picture of a campervan. So what does that tell you? If you don't speak English, and you see a picture of a tent, you would think you could go camping wouldn't you?
(Irene, Campground Owner)

Figure 15: Camping Signage near Lake Pukaki

(Image by Espiner, 2019)

Nonetheless, some of the camping managers are attempting to change this system of communication. A number of camping managers felt that investing in camper education was the most important step towards communicating with campers:

> *I think the trick in compliance isn't what the law is, it's why the law is what it is. So when I talk to someone about not being self-contained, it's very easy for me to say "you're not self-contained, you can't stay here". To get buy-in, I need to actually concentrate on the "why" – why you need to be self-contained, what effects do you have on the environment?...I think people do want to do the right thing. But I sometimes don't think they know what the right thing is. So we have to invest in educating people.*
> (Evan, Government Representative)

This education of campers was perceived to be a shared responsibility among a wide group of stakeholders—including government, holiday parks, and campervan companies. However, some of the camping managers felt that other stakeholders were not contributing fairly:

> *Some of the stories I hear—I hear about people hiring a motorhome, and then getting told that if they use the toilet, they lose the deposit. So what's that doing to my district? So you're now encouraging people to use a tree. So I think ownership from a whole has to come from a lot of different people, not just the governing body of the district.*
> (Evan, Government Representative)

Similarly, another camping manager felt that vehicle-rental companies were misleading tourists:

> *They need to be educated, it needs to be on the websites, and unfortunately in our opinion these little van sites do it on purpose because they want them to think that they can freedom camp all around New Zealand. It's not true, they can't. They can't freedom camp their way around New Zealand in every region and do it correctly. So education needs to start from the moment they start looking at that website.*
> (Bridget, Campground Owner)

Nonetheless, once again a number of the camping managers mentioned strategies they were employing to improve the movement of information from managers to campers. One camping manager felt that adapting to modern marketing techniques and using data to better understand campers would improve the efficiency of this channel of communication:

> *We've got a lot of research…The future of marketing is about understanding your customer demographics, and then being relevant…So it's all about data... If you'd come to me ten years ago and asked for data I'd say "well we've got a shoebox of data", well now we've got Bunnings*

Warehouse of data.
(Eddie, Camping Entrepreneur)

Another camping manager felt that using education to be proactive was the best approach, and was using MBIE funding to trial the use of 'camping ambassadors' for the upcoming camping season:

> *The plan is that these two full-time employees will go around the hot-spots of the district and actually engage with the people. Ask the question of "where are you going to camp tonight?", "you do realise that this is a 'no camping' zone", or "there's a really nice camping spot here". So actually trying to front-foot it.*
> (Evan, Government Representative)

Camping entrepreneurs also often saw their products as the answer to existing problems. In particular, mobile camping applications were suggested to be useful for aiding this communication channel. New developments to technology allow camping managers to add updates and send notifications to users to quickly disseminate information to a wide audience. One camping entrepreneur explained how this system operates:

> *Queenstown might call up and say "we've got a flooding situation at this campsite, can you tell your users". And we'll make that update, and straight away it'll go out. We can send notifications to users as well if there's something serious, like 'there's a bushfire up in Nelson – don't stay there'… we do location-based deals as well. So if a campground, if it gets to 4pm and they've still got say half of their sites still available, they can push a deal out for say 30 percent off. And anyone that's within a hundred kilometres of that site, or 20 kilometres, they get a deal notification.*
> (Ben, Camping Entrepreneur)

One camping entrepreneur described an even more recent strategy which was being trialled to communicate campground information with campers at free sites. This trial involved artificial intelligence technology, which could recognise when a campground had reached its maximum capacity, and redirect users to other campgrounds with vacancies. The initial results of this trial showed that 90% of users who received this notification would not stay at the full site, and would instead follow the directions to find an alternative place to stay.

In summary, the camping managers did not perceive the current approach to the movement of information between managers and campers to be effective. However, they were optimistic that simply changing the focus of signage and collaborating with other managers to educate campers would significantly improve the efficiency of this information

movement. Furthermore, camping entrepreneurs felt that recent developments in mobile application technology could further aid the success of this channel of communication.

6.3.3 Camper to camper

In contrast to the issues described in relation to the movement of information between managers and campers, the movement of information from camper to camper was perceived to be very efficient. Although this movement of information between campers likely occurs in a number of ways—including in-person at places where campers congregate—the camping managers mostly discussed the movement of information online through mobile applications and social media. One camping manager described the ease of disseminating information about tourist spots online as a "double-edged sword":

> *So and so stays at this location and shares it on Instagram, and people are like 'I wanna go there'...And it's a double-edged sword, because you're looking for somewhere that's off the beaten track, and then you're sharing it with millions of people saying "this is off the beaten track, this is why it's great". And then guess what? Millions of people come, it's no longer off the beaten track now is it?*
> (Karl, Regional Tourism Organisation)

Further to this, many of the camping managers mentioned challenges associated with how campers communicate information with one another. The primary challenge outlined by the camping managers was the speed with which information can travel online. Because of mobile applications such as Rankers or CamperMate, campers can communicate information with each other very quickly and easily. One camping manager explained how this happens:

> *People have interactive apps – so for instance I had a campsite just appear on an app up here. And all it takes is someone to go on CamperMate and say "I stayed there"…and so if you click on free campsites, it comes up as an option for a free campsite. And that's just because they're interactive apps – anyone can put the information in.*
> (Hector, Government Representative)

While this might be perceived very positively by the campers themselves, it was often described as a major challenge for the camping managers, because changes to the camping landscape can occur faster than the managers can respond. One camping manager explained this challenge:

> *It's really hard because you think you know where people are going to camp, and then within a ten day period you can get a hotspot. Someone's*

> *taken an awesome photo and they've put it on social media, and next minute you've got 40 vans there.*
> (Evan, Government Representative)

Another camping manager explained the implications of this rapidly changing landscape for managers:

> *With social media and I guess how everybody communicates these days, the pressure points can change very rapidly – almost to the extent of overnight…So you're always chasing what is happening out there, and it's nigh impossible to respond to trends in a very rapid fashion. It typically would take 2-3 years until you have enough data-points and enough information to say "well hang on, that's not just a blip, that's actually a place where we need to invest the funding".*
> (Frank, Government Representative)

At the heart of these issues described by the camping managers is the speed of information movement. Linking this to Cresswell (2010)'s politics of mobility—which was discussed earlier in relation to vehicle-movement—Cresswell describes speed as a key component of the politics of mobility. In the past, speed has often been associated with efficiency, progress, and freedom (Molz, 2009). On the other hand, Cresswell (2010) argues that speed can mean different things for different situations—for example, speed of air travel is a luxury, while speed of workers in a factory production-line is the opposite. However, Cresswell (2010) also notes that "being able to get somewhere quickly is increasingly associated with exclusivity" (p.23). This could explain the camping managers' mixed feelings about the speed of information movement between campers through mobile camping applications. That is to say, the exclusivity associated with the speed of information movement among campers means that the camping managers are excluded from their former role of information distribution.

Additionally, Molz (2009) emphasises how ever-increasing speed has begun to be associated with anxieties surrounding the loss of control. Similarly, Cresswell (2010) quotes Paul Virilio, who suggested that increasing velocity overwhelms humanity, and threatens our freedoms. This could also relate to the negativity of the camping managers' around the speed of information movement, because as the speed of information movement between campers increases, the freedoms and controls of the camping managers decrease. This is similar to Sheller (2016)'s point surrounding the power relations of mobilities, which enable movement and freedom for some and stillness for others (Sheller, 2016). Consequently, the

politics of speed mean that the power is in the hands of the campers—quite literally, in the case of hand-held mobile devices.

Aside from the implications for management, some camping managers felt that mobile applications have negative implications for community recreation due to displacement. One camping manager gave an example of a campground which was once used by local surfers, but had to close down due to tourism pressure:

> *A place called Campbell's Bay years ago through social media became very very popular, so what was traditionally a very casual camping facility, we had maybe a dozen or two surfers used to turn up and camp there and then surf the break – that got on the radar of the tourists. And within basically a year or two we went from a couple of dozen people, to like 150 people within a couple of years. But that was largely occurring on a piece of land owned by a residents' association there, and they decided they weren't happy to allow that to continue, so they closed down their site.*
> (Frank, Government Representative)

Another camping manager described a similar experience with community displacement

> *The locals can't go swimming here and all the things they used to do. Like in Omarama in the summertime, every weekend there'd be all the kids would be up there swimming at the bridge and jumping off the bridge as you would. But you wouldn't now, no one does, you just don't. Which is pretty sad really.*
> (Vaughn, Campground Owner)

Once again due to the information-sharing abilities of mobile applications, another camping manager described an instance of community displacement and suggested that campground managers have a responsibility to protect some campgrounds for local use:

> *So Poaka used to be a lovely little lake area that the locals would use. And then the local DOC guy went and put it on a camping app. So everyone now can access that camping app…So I think DOC need to get a little bit more savvy and engage with their communities, and realise there's some places we don't want people to know about easily. There's some places we need to keep quiet. Draw people to certain places and keep them out of others, to manage that tension between tourists and locals. And keep them off those apps. If people find it themselves, that's cool, but any time it goes onto social media then it's there for the masses. And I think places are gonna get ruined.*
> (Nina, Government Representative)

Consequently, the movement of information between campers was perceived to occur very quickly and efficiently. This is often due to the information-sharing abilities of mobile camping applications, which enable campers to crowd-source information and manifest physical impacts on campgrounds. This was a common point of discussion in the interviews, with a number of camping managers describing how new camping sites can evolve when a camper shares the location of a campground on a mobile camping application (Figure 16). As displayed in Figure 16, the simple act of a camper sharing the location of a camping spot on a mobile camping application can result in a chain of events—in which the site becomes overwhelmed with campers, the local community becomes displaced, and the local council has to install facilities and potentially even close the site. Once a site is closed, the process might then begin again with a new site, or circle back to the point where facilities are installed in a repeating cycle.

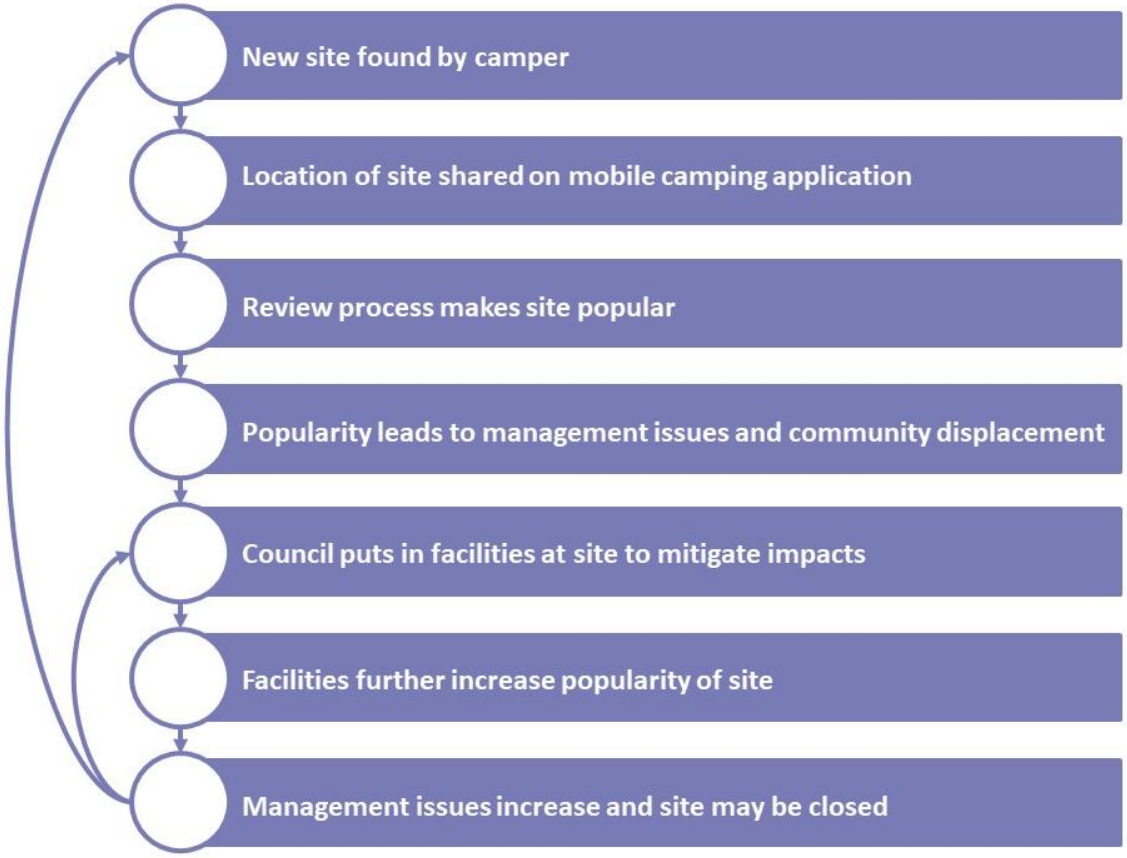

Figure 16: How campgrounds evolve through mobile applications

Although the medium through which the information is being shared is new, knowledge of the potential for tourist communicators to influence and change tourist sites through sharing

information is not. Hatcher (1999) describes how the birth of the Lonely Planet guidebooks initiated a rapid increase in independent tourism to some of the remote sites described in the books, resulting in the displacement of those tourists seeking a solitary and adventurous experience. Hatcher thus argues that Lonely Planet became "a victim of its own success…the easier the guidebooks have made independent travel, the more crowded, mapped and codified—and thus less independent—the adventure has become" (Hatcher, 1999, p. 134). In another vein, Tegelberg (2010) discusses how the Lonely Planet Cambodia guidebook influenced local communities in Cambodia, by disregarding local perspectives and reproducing a "problematic colonial discourse" (p.491) in order to appeal to Western tourists. Consequently, Tegelberg (2010) asserts that tourist communicators should consider how local communities are affected by the way they are represented in guides, and how local perspectives can inform the study of tourism in the future. This is pertinent to the present research in terms of the perceived impact of mobile camping applications on local communities, and the perception of a need for community engagement.

Consequently, the ability of campers to easily share information with one another was perceived fairly negatively by the camping managers, due to a sense of exclusion and not being able to keep up with the speed with which information can move on mobile applications. As a result of this inability to respond quickly to changes in camping patterns, some camping managers described experiences of community displacement from recreational activities at popular sites. However, while there was a sense of negativity around the movement of information through mobile applications, the applications themselves were not perceived as being negative contributors to the camping landscape in New Zealand. On the contrary, many of the camping managers described using the camping applications frequently themselves. Thus it was simply the camping managers' perceived lack of control and predictability over these applications and the movement of information between campers which was perceived negatively.

Campers to managers

The movement of information from campers to managers was the least frequently discussed channel of communication. This is because there appeared to be very few avenues for this movement of information to occur. Some of the government representatives had physical or

online feedback forms as part of the booking process, however these were described as not being very effective for constructive feedback:

> *We get feedback on the camping envelopes, and then Trip Advisor we get a few things. Usually the ones you get on the website, we don't get a lot. I'm surprised how few we get! Usually the ones you hear are the complaints—the complaints tend to rise above everything else.*
> (Eric, Government Representative)

The primary channel of communication which most of the camping managers said they used for receiving information from campers was mobile camping applications. One camping manager based his assessment of camper satisfaction on the comments on CamperMate:

> *I've looked on the feedback on the CamperMate app and people seem pretty happy with it.*
> (Simon, Government Representative)

A campground owner also felt that it was an important way to assess camper experience at her campground. However, she felt that the comments were not necessarily valid representations:

> *I've got [CamperMate] of course, cos we're on it. I wanna see what people say. You get a few bitchy reviews, and then you get a few people come on and say "well everything that those people complained about was fine, and we don't know what you're talking about". It depends on the weather, if it's been raining you get shitty ones...that's social media, and you learn to read past all that don't you?*
> (Irene, Campground Owner)

Consequently, the channel of communication from campers back to managers was perceived to be heavily reliant on the feedback on mobile camping applications—particularly CamperMate. This is potentially an issue, as these comments are not necessarily representative of all campers, but merely those using the mobile application. Further to this, the comments on mobile camping applications are not intended for camping managers, but for other campers. As such, the information campers publish on applications for other campers may be different to the information they would share with camping managers if there was an appropriate way of doing so. As such, this channel of communication was identified as a gap in the movement of information.

6.4 Movement tensions

Whenever things move, there is potential for that movement to collide or produce tensions between moving parts. This is particularly true for social tensions as a result of the movement of people. For example, across history, moving people such as migrants, refugees, and nomadic peoples have repeatedly drawn negative attention and been marginalised by static populations (Hall & Müller, 2018a). Similarly, the movement of camper vehicles and information through time and space in the case-study area created a number of tensions for camping managers.

6.4.1 Mobile persons

Building on this, one major tension which was apparent in this research was the sense of tension in relation to mobile persons. Drawing on Cresswell (2010)'s notion of examining historical "constellations of mobility", the movement of certain groups of people throughout history has repeatedly been an issue for those in power. Cresswell (2010) describes how in the past, spaces such as prisons and work camps have been utilised to regulate mobility of such groups. From the 19th century onwards, this regulation increased further—including the enforcement of fixed national borders and the introduction of the passport (Cresswell, 2010). Another example is the Romany people—commonly and derogatively referred to as 'Gypsies' in Europe—who have a history of conflict and negative stereotyping associated with their nomadic lifestyle which is "strongly coloured by perceptions of illegality" (Hall & Müller, 2018a, p. 25). Hall and Müller (2018a) suggest that this prejudice towards the Romany people—as well as other people who travel in caravans—originates in a perception of mobile homes as being cheap, and therefore associated with the poor and those of lower socio-economic status. This is also evident in the label those who live in caravans are sometimes given in America, which is "trailer-park trash" (Hall & Müller, 2018a).

Although these examples are either from the past or from overseas, the movement of certain groups of people continues to be a source of tension in the present research. As Cresswell (2010) notes: "elements of the past exist in the present just as elements of the future surround us" (p.29). The movement of certain groups of campers in New Zealand was a genuine cause of tension for many of the camping managers—particularly international campers. A number of camping managers described this group of campers as dangerous drivers. Two campground owners explained how international campers often arrive by plane

at Christchurch Airport, and proceed to head straight for Queenstown once collecting a rental vehicle—passing through the Mackenzie or Waitaki District on the way:

> *Sometimes they just drive from Christchurch and then stop here. Which is absolutely horrendous because they've just got off a 24-hour flight or 12-hour flight and got straight into a campervan and driven here for 3 and a half hours.*
> (Ellen and Vince, Campground Owners)

These campground owners also felt that it was dangerous for non-English-speaking campers to be driving on New Zealand roads:

> *I've struck foreigners that have come in and an 8 year old son is interpreting for his father that's driving the campervan. It's not right. The 8 year old, he filled in the form – because you've got to fill a form in when you come – well the boy had to fill that in. That's totally wrong…I don't think they should be allowed to drive if they can't speak or write English, they shouldn't be allowed to drive on our roads.*
> (Ellen and Vince, Campground Owners)

However, another camping manager felt that negative perceptions of international campers such as this are not based on fact, but on xenophobia:

> *I advocate quite a lot for tourists. Like driving—people are quite xenophobic about tourists. There's a commonly-held perception that tourist drivers are really bad, and that's actually statistical bullshit. They're not.*
> (Hector, Government Representative)

As such, elements of historical constellations of mobility were present in the movement of mobile persons—particularly international campers—for some of the camping managers in the present research. This tension may be due to the lack of predictability of mobile persons, which can create issues for management. This factor will be discussed in the following section.

6.4.2 Predictability

Another source of tension from the movement of campers was the level of predictability surrounding camper movements. Although it was rarely explicitly stated, a number of the issues identified related to the relative predictability of the different camper groups. As described in the previous section on vehicle-movement, although some aspects of vehicle-

movements were understood in somewhat predictable patterns, the patterns of the Basic Budgeters and Self-Sufficient Spenders were perceived to change quickly and frequently. This is in comparison to the Kiwi Classics, many of whom have camped at the same campgrounds in the same patterns for many consecutive years. One camping manager described how this predictability impacts management:

> *Our domestic campers at the moment are going to facilities and infrastructure which has been set up to their needs generally, and has been tested over time. And their needs and their numbers haven't changed significantly, so we've had time to evolve and match the needs with the supply. With freedom camping tourism we haven't had the opportunity to do that. Things have changed so rapidly, and it's very hard to forecast what's going to come next. That's why you have the concerns and the issues – you end up with a mismatch because of the rapidly changing environment.*
> (Frank, Government Representative)

As such, the Kiwi Classics were perceived to be a predictable group of campers to manage because they have been camping in the same places and styles for decades. This means that the camping managers can provide facilities and campgrounds which are set up to suit the needs of these campers. The Basic Budgeters and Self-Sufficient Spenders, on the other hand, were perceived to be far less predictable. Although new data from CamperMate has been able to show some patterns in the travel behaviour of these campers, the relative newness of these camping types combined with the speed with which the preferences and needs of the campers can change makes their needs very difficult to predict. Consequently, the provision of adequate facilities and campgrounds for the Self-Sufficient Spenders and Basic Budgeters was perceived to be very difficult and a source of tension for camping managers due to the lack of predictability of movement.

6.4.3 Immobile rules

Finally, the clash between the mobility of campers and information, and the immobility of camping management and policy was a significant source of tension for camping management. So far this chapter has discussed in detail the active and important role which movement plays in camping in New Zealand today. While this movement was perceived to vary across types of campers and information channels, movement still existed in nearly every facet of camping. In contrast, the management of camping in New Zealand was

perceived to be at odds with the movement of campers across the country, due to the focus on management by district or region. This fragmented regional approach to camping management was discussed by a number of camping managers. One camping manager described this approach as 'sporadic':

> *You've got a bunch of different councils, generally with a blanket rule in their district to say whether or not freedom camping is allowed. So you'll get pockets of campsites, and then in the next region there'll be no campsites. So it's a little bit sporadic.*
> (Ben, Camping Entrepreneur)

Another camping manager suggested that this sporadic approach to camping management makes it very difficult for campers to do the right thing:

> *I think the problem is, is there's no physical mark on the ground. So how do you know that you've gone from Waitaki to Mackenzie, and the rule's changed? So it's really really hard. And it's really hard on the campers, because there are a lot of people who want to do generally the right thing…But by every local council having their own wee bylaw, it's sort of set up to make people fail – if that makes sense. Because there's no possible way... if you hired a motorhome in Auckland and you drove to Queenstown, how many different local body areas you went through, and how many different council bylaws – you couldn't ever know all that.*
> (Evan, Government Representative)

One camping manager suggested that the confusing nature of the regional approach was enabling increasing prohibition across councils in New Zealand, which would restrict opportunities for New Zealanders to go camping:

> *Every time a council reviews its policies or brings in a new policy, 99% of the time it's adding further restrictions and prohibitions. So we're just continually prohibiting more and more areas, which reduces the opportunities for people to go camping, and creates a lot of uncertainty and fear so people are just like "I don't want to do it anymore because I don't want to get a fine because I don't understand the rules in this district".*
> (Kevin, Camping Entrepreneur)

Beyond a basic agreement among the camping managers that this approach was not operating successfully, the camping managers had varying suggestions about how this system could be improved. One government representative suggested that the regional approach may have been a good trial for various management methods, management at a national level would be necessary in the future:

> *I think you need to start in the regions and trial a few things, but then there needs to be? someone who says "We've piloted this approach in each of the regions. What's worked? What hasn't? How can we now look at a bit more of a national approach?"*
> (Nina, Government Representative)

Another suggestion, which a number of camping managers felt was important, was for the rules to be the same across the country, but for communities and councils to be able to identify areas to be protected from camping:

> *Here in the Mackenzie District, we have three nights maximum at a site, while other districts have one. So I think rules like that don't work. But I think if you've got a sensitive site – whether it's cultural or it's environmental, I think it probably works for that. But the different signage, the different messaging, the different bylaws – I think just really confuses people.*
> (Evan, Government Representative)

Consistency of campgrounds and facilities across New Zealand was also considered to be important. As one camping manager argued:

> *I do think that that infrastructure needs to be consistent right through New Zealand. So that anybody can go to any area where responsible camping or DOC sites or whatever it is, they can go and expect to have clean drinking water, a toilet that they can flush, as a minimum requirement, and somewhere safe to park a vehicle…it is not sending our visitors good messages if we can't get our act together and get our own blimming well infrastructure sorted out, we shouldn't be putting that problem on the tourists. It's not their fault that we haven't got the basic necessities organised for them while they come and stay and visit us.*
> (Nancy, Regional Tourism Organisation)

One camping manager suggested attaching the rules to known or obvious borders, using the example of speed limits:

> *Anywhere the speed limit is 50 or below – which is urban in most instances – you cannot freedom camp. Anywhere where the speed limit is 70 to 100, you can freedom camp – I'm just painting examples, it's not definitive. Anywhere between 70 and 100, you can camp where designated. Anywhere over 100, as long as you're not camping in the middle of a state highway or on private land, you can freedom camp wherever you like, subject to the self-contained thing. And that to us would have taken away the concern for the Chinese tourist, the South African tourist, the American tourist about where does the line end? Where does that council's rule stop and the next council's rule start?*
> (Eddie, Camping Entrepreneur)

In sum, the regional approach to camping management in New Zealand was widely considered to be an ineffective method for managing camping in the 21st century. At the heart of this issue is the fact that while the rules are static and attached to each district, the campers are mobile and move across these static boundaries. One camping manager explained the implications of this tension for management in the Mackenzie and Waitaki Districts:

> *Because we're in the middle of the South Island, people pick up bad habits by the time that they get to us. So if for five or six days they've been camping illegally, tipping their dishwater on the ground, or brushing their teeth and spitting on the ground, or whatever it is - by the time they get here, it's engrained behaviour.*
> (Evan, Government Representative)

This same camping manager suggested that one way to ease this tension other than changing to a national approach is to focus education efforts on 'gateway districts'—or wherever tourists begin their camping journeys:

> *In my previous life I worked for DOC, so I was in charge of the Milford, Kepler, and Routeburn tracks. So I used to say about the hut wardens that the first hut on the tracks have the hardest job, because it's their job to educate how to leave a hut clean and tidy, how to take your rubbish with you, so that as the people move down the track, it actually becomes engrained and easier for the next hut. And I think there are definitely districts in New Zealand where there are similarities. They have to take ownership. We're not a gateway district, but Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch—those entry points where the people come, if we're talking about internationals—I think they have a role to play.*
> (Evan, Government Representative)

On the other hand, some of the camping entrepreneurs felt that new technology would be able to mitigate or even invalidate the tension between mobile campers and immobile rules. As one camping manager explained:

> *I mean the default position for many people is that it's not working, that the council have one set of rules, and then someone will go into the next council and those rules will have changed. But that used to be a problem maybe before CamperMate, but now it doesn't matter which region they're in, they just pull up CamperMate and the places they can camp are on the map. It's so easy now. So I don't have an issue with all of these councils have different rules, because technology manages that. So I think having different regions with different rules: not a problem at all.*
> (Ben, Camping Entrepreneur)

Similarly, another camping entrepreneur felt that shifting to a user-pays system such as KiwiCamp—which is a system which is specifically designed to provide user-pays facilities for mobile campers—could also mitigate this tension. As he explained:

> *The idea with KiwiCamp is if we're gonna have them in all the towns around New Zealand, if someone's gonna go freedom camping on the beach, now they've already chucked out their rubbish, cleaned their dishes, had a shower, done their laundry, charged up their devices, and then they go and sleep on the beach – what harm can they do?*
> (David, Camping Entrepreneur)

A number of government representatives supported the idea of user-pays facilities for reducing the impacts of mobile campers on communities. As he argued:

> *Why don't you build a campground amenity block with coin-operated showers, coin-operated laundry, a couple of clotheslines for people to dry clothes on, and sinks for people to do their dishes in? And have it all coin-operated and charged, and no-one camps there, but it's facilities for people who are maybe camping somewhere else…Why not? We could be trend-setters for providing facilities for those tourists.*
> (Hector, Government Representative)

However, the idea of user-pays facilities could also create new tensions in relation to mobile persons. In particular, campground owners did not support the idea of user-pays facilities, as they felt that the facilities could negatively impact their businesses. One government representative's description of the practical limitations of a user-pays system also hinted at other tensions surrounding providing facilities for mobile persons:

> *Pay-as-you-go only works in places where there is already public infrastructure…or places where there is enough passive surveillance from people to actually see those that aren't doing what they should, to enforce it….Remote locations…there's nothing stopping groups from paying once, leaving the door slightly ajar, taking turns and all that sort of stuff. And the cost of fixing and repairing things when people break or damage stuff.*
> (Frank, Government Representative)

Consequently, while the majority of the camping managers identified issues with the regional approach to camping management in New Zealand, there were also a number of camping managers who suggested solutions to this tension. These solutions included a shift from a district-based approach to camping management to a national approach, increasing consistency of campgrounds and facilities across New Zealand, providing user-pays facilities, and educating campers with consistent messages on arrival. On the other hand, those

working at the forefront of camping entrepreneurship felt that improvements in mobile applications and technologies were already beginning to mitigate these issues.

6.5 Chapter summary

Understanding the movement of people, information and ideas across time and space is at the core of mobilities research. Through understanding how things move, the politics and power of that movement can be examined. This chapter has discussed the rhythm, friction and route of vehicle-movement in the case-study area, as well as the speed of the movement of information across various channels of communication. Through this examination of the politics of movement, a number of tensions have been identified—including those surrounding mobile persons, the predictability of camper movement, and the mismatch between mobile campers and immobile management. As such, this chapter has developed a unique theoretical understanding of camping in New Zealand through recognising the politics and tensions of camper movement in the Mackenzie Basin and Waitaki Valley. Based on this application of a mobilities perspective to camping, the following chapter will evaluate the contributions of this research to the mobilities literature, and discuss how this theoretical understanding could support a shift in the approach to camping management issues in New Zealand.

Chapter 7

Concluding Discussion

7.1 Introduction

The aim of this research was to explore camping manager perspectives on camping in the Waitaki Valley and Mackenzie Basin using a mobilities perspective to re-conceptualise camping. Despite camping being a deeply valued part of life for many New Zealanders (Department of Conservation, 2006; Ministry for the Environment, 1988) research on camping in New Zealand to date is limited. The findings presented in the preceding three chapters depict a dynamic camping landscape entangled with complex political understandings about campers and movement. With camping managers being at the forefront of the increasingly controversial camping management issues in New Zealand, understanding these perspectives has the potential to contribute to the formation of successful solutions and approaches. Consequently, this thesis addressed three main areas of enquiry: how camping is changing in the case study area; how Cresswell (2010)'s concepts of movement and representation could be applied to advance conceptual understandings of camping; and what the implications of this conceptualisation could be for camping policy and planning in the case study area and New Zealand. The result of addressing these questions is that this thesis provides not only valuable insights, but a foundation for future research on camping in New Zealand. As such, this chapter will address the research questions to evaluate how a mobilities framing of the camping managers' perspectives can contribute to the mobilities literature, evoke potential solutions for camping management issues in New Zealand, and provide a foundation for future research on camping in New Zealand.

7.2 Changes in camping

Over the past century, camping in New Zealand has changed significantly (Collins & Kearns, 2010; Collins et al., 2017; Department of Conservation, 2006; Keenan, 2012; Østby, 2014). From the adventurous expeditions of hunters and gatherers in the early 20th century, to the increasingly accessible car-camping holidays and the opening of commercial campgrounds from the 1950s onwards—past developments have already been acknowledged in the

literature (Brooker & Joppe, 2014; Campion & Stephenson, 2010; Collins & Kearns, 2010; Department of Conservation, 2006; Østby, 2014). However, camping in 2020 may have reached a new phase beyond that of the modern commercial campground. With the increasing availability and sophistication of motorhomes and campervans, as well as the relative ease of car-camping and freedom camping in New Zealand, mobile camping has become a popular and affordable choice for travelling in New Zealand (Angus & Associates, 2017; Department of Internal Affairs, 2016; Fieger et al., 2019; Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, 2019a; Selwyn District Council, 2017). While modern campground camping is still a common holiday option—particularly for New Zealand families, or Kiwi Classics—it has become increasingly associated with nostalgia and tradition. On the other hand, mobile camping and freedom camping are the embodiments of what it means to be modern—associated with freedom, power, and mobility (Jacobsen, 2004; Mikkelsen & Cohen, 2015). Consequently, the demand for camping in New Zealand now lies at two ends of a spectrum, from basic to high-end. This was reflected in the data, as campers were described by the camping managers in distinct groups, based on these different types of demand. The three distinct groups—labelled here as the Kiwi Classics, Basic Budgeters, and Self-Sufficient Spenders—represent the non-homogenous nature of camping in New Zealand today. While previous research on camping in New Zealand has often described campers similar to the Kiwi Classics (Collins & Kearns, 2010; Department of Conservation, 2006), the Self-Sufficient Spenders and Basic Budgeters are less frequently discussed in the literature. This non-homogenous nature of camping in the Mackenzie Basin and Waitaki Valley is a significant finding in the present research, which was also reported in the Queenstown Lakes District Council's recent report on camping in the district (Queenstown Lakes District Council, 2018).

One consequence of this demand at both ends of the spectrum (from basic to high-end) in the Mackenzie and Waitaki Districts which was reflected in the campground inventory results is the lack of low-cost camping options across the two districts. While both districts had a significant number of high and medium-cost campgrounds, as well as at least one free campground, neither district offered a low-cost camping option ($1-$15 per night for two persons).

Another consequence of the split demand for basic and high-end camping is that while many camping managers and campers continue to modernise and 'premiumise' their facilities and

equipment for traditional Kiwi Camping, others are taking a more mobile approach to camping. The camping managers frequently mentioned the increasing number of vehicles in campgrounds, as well as the tendency for certain groups of campers—described here as the Self-Sufficient Spenders and Basic Budgeters—to only stop briefly before moving on. This was also reflected in the CamperMate data for the two districts, which showed that over the summer of 2018-2019, a large majority of CamperMate users spent 0-1 nights, and a negligible proportion of users spent longer than two nights (GeoZone, 2019). This was particularly evident in the Mackenzie District, where the Basic Budgeters are most prevalent. Nonetheless, even the longer-stay Kiwi Classics in campgrounds who might be perceived as fairly stationary were described as increasingly mobile. In particular, Kiwi Classics in the Waitaki District were described to undertake a mass-migration to the campgrounds in summer—with some campers also travelling back and forth between the campground and home frequently. This is a significant finding, as it reflects that despite the potential to assume mobile camping only describes Self-Sufficient Spenders or Basic Budgeters, the reality is that all the forms of front-country camping discussed by the camping managers were increasingly mobile.

Furthermore, the use of modern technology in camping in the form of mobile applications such as CamperMate, Rankers, and KiwiCamp represents a significant change to the camping landscape. While there were mixed perceptions about the use of mobile camping applications among the camping managers—with some seeing the technology as revolutionary, and others perceiving the applications as tools for delinquent camper behaviour—there was agreement that the mobile applications have significantly changed how campers move and communicate. This phenomenon of mobile technology altering how tourists move and experience travel is commonly discussed in recent tourism research (Gardner & Harfield, 2014; Tan, 2017; Wang & Fesenmaier, 2013; Wang et al., 2012). While some of this literature discusses the potential of mobile technology to enhance the tourist experience (Dickinson et al., 2014; Wang & Fesenmaier, 2013; Wang et al., 2012), others argue that the use of a smartphone while travelling can cause feelings of disconnection and alienation—or 'e-lienation' (Tribe & Mkono, 2017)—from reality while travelling. Due to this e-lineation, notions of travel being stress-free and self-enlightening can be undone—resulting in the desire among some tourists to disconnect from technology while travelling (Dickinson et al., 2016; Tribe & Mkono, 2017). Although the present research did not explore

or discuss in-depth the potential or reality of how mobile applications are changing camping in New Zealand, the identification of this theme represents an important direction for future research and discussion.

7.3 Conceptualising camping

A major component of this research which contributed to the way the results were interpreted was the use of a mobilities approach. As acknowledged in the literature review, research on camping to date has tended to focus on non-mobile understandings of camping—with a particular emphasis on campgrounds as places of meaning and attachment (Collins & Kearns, 2010; Department of Conservation, 2006; Leivestad, 2018; Mikkelsen & Cohen, 2015). This is a common approach among social science and tourism research, which the mobilities approach seeks to challenge (Duncan, 2012; Hannam, 2009). The present research therefore represents a unique contribution towards the New Zealand camping literature by re-conceptualising camping as mobile and focussing on the meanings attached to movement, rather than places. While place-based research on camping in New Zealand has identified a variety of fascinating social meanings of campgrounds, including the strong attachments between people and campgrounds (Collins & Kearns, 2010; Department of Conservation, 2006), the present research has unearthed a number of different meanings attributed to mobile camping by the camping managers. These meanings relate to both the movement of campers—with the various perceived groups of campers moving in different ways—and the movement of camping information. For example, using three of Cresswell (2010)'s components of the politics of mobility—rhythm, friction and route—it became clear that the Self-Sufficient Spenders and Basic Budgeters were perceived to be less predictable and therefore more difficult to manage than the Kiwi Classics, based on the different perceived frequencies of movement, methods of campground choice and routes of travel. Similarly, the movement of information between various camping stakeholders was associated with different meanings. In particular, the movement of information between campers was perceived to be occurring with increasing speed and efficiency, leading the camping managers to feel a loss of control and the community to feel displaced. Consequently, the present research represents an important first step towards advancing conceptual understandings of camping in 21st century New Zealand.

Further to this, the present research also represents a significant contribution to the literature on mobilities. While there is an existing body of literature in which the mobilities concept is applied to specific camping phenomena—including the movement of elderly 'movannners' in New Zealand (Green, 2013), the phenomenon of 'Grey Movers' in Portugal (Dias & Domingues, 2018), the meanings of caravanning for campers in Sweden (Leivestad, 2018) and the notion of caravans as a second home in Britain and across the world (Caldicott et al., 2018; Steer-Fowler & Brunt, 2018)—the present research is the first to apply a mobilities approach to camping manager perspectives on camping. Moreover, the use of Cresswell (2010)'s mobilities concepts of movement and representation to frame the results was a unique and instructive approach. This framing of the results allowed the researcher to examine the data from angles which otherwise might not have been explored, and unearth a number of insights into the camping managers' perspectives on camping—such as the power dynamics of camper information movement.

Framing the results using the concepts of movement and representation also allowed for the identification of data which did not fit within Cresswell (2010)'s framework. Cresswell's third concept of 'practice'—which considers how movement is experienced and embodied by those moving—was omitted in the framing of the results due to the focus of the research not being camper experience, but camping manager experience. However, while interviews with camping managers could not produce data about the embodied experience of camper movement, there were a number of experiences of movement described for those external to the movement—for example, the reactions to movement of the community, the camping managers, and the environment. This reaction could be conceptualised similarly to a stone being tossed into a body of water—the embodied experience of the stone falling to the bottom will be different to that of the ripples emanating outwards from the epicentre. Just as the stone creates ripples across the water, the movement of campers has a ripple effect on those surrounding the movement. Consequently, although some of the data collected did not fit seamlessly within Cresswell's three components of mobility, this fourth factor—reaction—could be an area for future consideration in research on movement.

7.4 Implications for policy and planning

> *But the point is, if you said to me "should we allow freedom camping to continue" – yes, absolutely. Are we happy with the way freedom camping is currently managed and implemented at the moment? Not entirely.*
> (Eddie, Camping Entrepreneur)

Based on this unique conceptualisation of camping in the case study area, there are a number of potential implications for camping policy and planning in the Mackenzie and Waitaki Districts—and potentially beyond. The scope for this conceptualisation to impact policy and planning—including the mobilisation of management and the mobilisation of information—will be discussed in the following two sections.

7.4.1 Mobilising management

In response to the increasing mobility of campers, several camping managers mentioned employing adaptive measures to overcome the challenges of mobile camping management. These included the use of mobile applications to communicate with campers, and the provision of user-pays facilities to accommodate the needs of mobile campers. In particular, the birth and growth of entrepreneurial mobile camping concepts such as CamperMate and KiwiCamp were described as reactions to the growth of mobile camping. Nonetheless, the majority of the camping managers had not transitioned to mobile approaches to camping. With the exception of the camping entrepreneurs, most of the camping managers perceived the mobility of campers as a problem for management. Consequently, a mounting tension has emerged between the *immobility* of camping management, legislation and systems, and the *mobility* of campers.

Based on a mobilities framing, one potential approach to mitigate this tension would be to adapt the management of camping to reflect the increasing mobility of campers today. If the perception of movement as the problem was reversed, and the immobility of camping legislation was instead identified as the issue, this tension may be reduced. This is because attempting to control or restrict the movement of campers would be a resource-intensive and relentless task, whereas accepting and adapting to this evolved form of camping through changes to the legislation could be more effective. This adaptation to mobile management of camping may take the form of a user-pays facilities system such as the Self-

Service Laundromat pictured in Figure 17, or KiwiCamp—which is already being trialled across New Zealand.

Figure 17: User-pays laundry facilities in Southland
(Image by Rutland-Sims, 2019)

Additionally, the findings of this research suggest that the camping managers perceived campers in distinctive groups with very different approaches required, yet this is not necessarily reflected in current policy or practice. For example, many of the camping managers strongly believed that the non-self-contained Basic Budgeters have negative impacts on local communities and the environment, and contribute little to local economies. On the other hand, their self-contained counterparts, the Self-Sufficient Spenders, were perceived as positive contributors to local economies, with few negative impacts. Nonetheless, this was not perceived to be acknowledged by local residents, nor recognised in wider legislation and management. While the self-containment certification sticker should be a signifier of the group to which a camper belongs, this was believed to be imitated or incorrectly-assigned to some vehicles due to a lack of monitoring and regulation of the certification. Consequently, improved monitoring of the self-containment certification, as well as recognition of the perceived different groups of campers in management and policy would better reflect the camping managers' understandings of campers in the Mackenzie Basin and Waitaki Valley.

Finally, the politics of rhythm, friction, and route of movement (Cresswell, 2010) were perceived to create tensions in camping management. Framing the movement of campers in a mobilities context revealed that for those campers perceived to have negative impacts on the community or environment, rhythms of short-term movement and rest were perceived as preferable to long-term rhythms. This framework also revealed that the route campers travel gives speed and power to those in the Mackenzie Basin and slowness to those in the Waitaki Valley, and that the power over friction—or stopping—may not belong to the camping managers. Overall, this examination of the politics of rhythm, friction, and route uncovered a perception among the camper managers of a lack of agency or power over camper movement and stopping. In the case of friction and rhythm, this lack of control infers a lack of predictability of where and when campers stop and move, which makes the campers very difficult to manage. To the contrary, the campers themselves and the managers of mobile camping applications were perceived to have the most power over the route, friction and rhythm of camper movement. This is particularly true for those described as 'freedom campers'—or Basic Budgeters—because freedom infers notions of power and autonomy.

In order to ease this tension, the control over camper movement needs to be harnessed by the camping managers in practice and in policy. For example, if District Councils were able to direct campers to campgrounds with the same efficiency and reach as mobile applications, they would possess a great deal more power over where campers stop in practice. Similarly in policy, District Councils would also possess more power if legislation which specifies where, how, and when campers should stop was frequently and consistently enforced. This may mean changes to the Freedom Camping Act 2011 (New Zealand Government, 2011), which—despite being less than ten years old—was drafted in a different political camping landscape to what exists in 2020 and beyond. Consequently, altering camping management policy and practice to allow camping managers to reclaim some power may contribute to the mitigation of political tensions through flipping the hierarchy of power in favour of the camping managers. This may mean that the 'freedom' and related power of freedom campers is reduced—however, like any change in energy in physics, this power is not lost or destroyed. Instead, this power would be transferred to the camping managers, to local communities, and to the environment. It could be argued that this transfer of power would detract from the autonomy and mobility which makes mobile camping so attractive to

campers across New Zealand. However, the results of this research suggest that the camping managers in the Mackenzie Basin and Waitaki Valley would perceive the benefits of a more balanced distribution of power across camping stakeholders—particularly for the community and environment—to outweigh the cost of reduced camper automobility. Nonetheless, research on the perceptions of a different group of stakeholders on these issues might reflect an entirely different power dynamic and, subsequently, different implications and recommendations for policy and planning.

7.4.2 Mobilising information

The movement of information related to camping in the Mackenzie Basin and Waitaki Valley was also perceived to be a source of tension. For one, the movement of information between managers was perceived to be slow and ineffective. The lack of inter-agency collaboration was noted as a weakness for camping management both in the case study area and across New Zealand. On the contrary, the campers were seen to be collaborating efficaciously through crowd-sourcing information online in mobile camping applications. This mobilisation of information between campers through mobile camping applications was not only a source of tension because of its contrast to the camping managers' communication, but also due to the politics of the speed of information movement between campers. This speed of information movement excludes the camping managers from their role of information dissemination and, once again, reduces the managers' power over the information campers receive about camping in the districts—and New Zealand in general. Consequently, a combination of collaboration and mobilisation of information through mobile systems such as online platforms could significantly improve both the efficiency and the power of the dissemination of information from camping managers to other stakeholders, including the campers themselves.

Furthermore, the model of how camping spots evolve through mobile camping applications presented in Chapter 6 represents how campers can change the reality of the physical world through mobile technology communications. Büscher and Urry posit that people "physically and socially make the world through the ways they move and mobilise people, objects, information and ideas" (2009, p. 112). This essentially describes how campers are perceived to be changing camping areas, as they physically and socially transform campgrounds

through the information they share on mobile camping applications. As was frequently described by the camping managers, the ability of campers to share a positive review or well-framed photograph online means that mobile camping applications and other mobile communications technologies have the potential to transform campgrounds almost overnight—from a few campers to hundreds of campers. This effect has been described in previous research in relation to the photo-sharing mobile application, Instagram (Baksh, 2019). While Instagram has been shown to be an effective tool for engaging with tourists and increasing motivation to visit a site (Parsons, 2017; Shuqair & Cragg, 2017), the mobile application has also been found to indirectly create negative impacts on biodiversity and conservation through increasing visitor numbers (Baksh, 2019). Gardner and Harfield (2014) draw a similar conclusion about the "transformative potential of mobile technology practices" (p.198) in urban spaces in Australia. The authors argue that "new ways of being mobile, together with new forms of informational movement, are forcing us to confront dominant and deep-rooted notions of urban space; how it is produced and transformed, and by whom" (Gardner & Harfield, 2014, p. 195). This means that the ability for anyone to mobilise information and ideas on mobile camping applications—and subsequently transform campgrounds—may force legislators to confront the current approach to camping management and information dissemination in policy and planning.

7.5 Limitations and future research opportunities

While a number of significant and useful conclusions can be drawn from the findings of this research, there were also limitations in this research—some of which can provide opportunities for further research. These opportunities include using the themes generated to undertake a more focussed project, comparing the perceptions identified in the present research with those of other stakeholder groups, and undertaking quantitative evaluations of the impacts of camping in New Zealand. These three areas for future research will be discussed below.

7.5.1 Focussing in

First of all, as this was the inaugural study of this particular topic in New Zealand, the research was wholly exploratory. This clearly corresponds with the aims of the project, and

made it possible to identify themes and generate ideas for future research. However, subsequent studies could follow up on the themes identified in the present research in order to gain a deeper understanding of particular aspects. For example, the finding that mobile camping applications are controversial but influential agents in how camping is changing in the case study area represents an important direction for future research. On the other hand, the results are based on a small and selective sample of participants in a concentrated area of the country. While a case study approach was ideal for an exploratory study with limited time, future research could delve further into the issues with a broader sample and case study area. Similarly, a comparative project of different geographical regions in New Zealand would also build on the findings of the present research.

7.5.2 Comparing other stakeholders

Although research in the past has already focussed on some elements of camper perspectives—including motivation and experiences (Angus & Associates, 2017; Department of Conservation, 2006; Garst et al., 2009; Hassell et al., 2015; Kearns et al., 2016), demographics (Angus & Associates, 2017; Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, 2019a; Prideaux & McClymont, 2006), and behaviour (Angus & Associates, 2017; Collins et al., 2017; Prideaux & McClymont, 2006)—the present research has highlighted some themes and ideas which provide potential new areas of focus. A particularly interesting area for future research would be a comparative study of the perspectives of campers on camping in New Zealand. While this research project did not set out to interview campers, it would be informative to interview the various groups of campers identified in this research and compare their perspectives—both between groups, and between campers and managers. Further to this, exploring and comparing the views of domestic campers on international campers, and vice versa, would contribute to understandings of the tensions identified in this research.

Similarly, while the scope of this research only allowed the time and resources to interview the primary group of stakeholders, the list of secondary stakeholders identified in Chapter 3 could also be considered in future research. These stakeholders were local service providers who frequently interact with camping tourists—such as supermarkets, petrol stations and information centres. The inclusion of these perspectives—those who benefit economically

from all types of camping tourism—would add another layer of complexity to understandings of camping tourism in the case study area.

Another particularly topical suggestion for future research—which was often mentioned by participants in the present research—would be to investigate community perceptions of the impact of camping in New Zealand. Impact—or the experience of movement for those external to the movement—was identified in the present research as a potential extension of Cresswell (2010)'s mobilities concepts. While "local community tensions" in relation to camping have been studied in Australia (Caldicott et al., 2018), information about community perspectives on camping in New Zealand is limited to anecdotal evidence in the New Zealand media (Bradley, 2019; du Fresne, 2016; Williams, 2019). Many of the participants in the present research were both camping managers and members of communities affected by camping, and frequently questioned the economic benefits of camping and its social license to operate. However, the present research did not aim to investigate community perspectives, but camping manager perspectives. As such, there is now an opportunity to explore and compare the perspectives of communities on the impact of camping in New Zealand.

7.5.3 Evaluating impacts

Despite the tensions around camping in the New Zealand media, recent research suggests that international campers who do some freedom camping while in New Zealand contribute to the economy through commercial tourism activities (Fieger et al., 2019). However, Fieger et al. (2019) do not differentiate between the non-self-contained Basic Budgeters and the self-contained Self-Sufficient Spenders—identified in the present research as quite different groups behaviourally and economically. Consequently, future research could assess the economic impact of different types of freedom campers, based on factors which might differentiate them such as age or vehicle-type. This may reveal different groups of campers than the Self-Sufficient Spenders and Basic Budgeters, however the premise uncovered in the present research that freedom campers are a non-homogenous group prevails. A project of this nature could also attempt to compare any economic benefits to the perceived negative environmental and community impacts described in the present research.

Another potential theme for future research which was identified in this project was to explore the influence of mobile camping applications on camping tourism in New Zealand. A number of the camping managers identified the growth of mobile camping applications over the last decade as a major contributor to changes in camping in New Zealand today. Similarly, recent research on the phenomenon of mobile technology in tourism has suggested that mobile technology alters how tourists move and experience travel (Gardner & Harfield, 2014; Tan, 2017; Wang & Fesenmaier, 2013; Wang et al., 2012). Consequently, the effects of mobile camping applications on camping in New Zealand is a theme requiring further research.

Finally, although not mentioned by the camping managers during the interviews, the present research project is limited by the uncertain future of mobile camping tourism in New Zealand. With the carbon-intensive resources with which this industry is driven—quite literally—in limited supply, mobile camping tourism may not be able to continue into the future in its present form. Allis (2017) argues that "the growth of tourist mobility raises concerns from an environmental perspective" (p.198), and suggests that societies should now be considering which forms of tourism and transport can continue into the future. He posits that the 'decarbonisation' of tourism will mean reverting to slower and more sustainable forms of tourism. As such, this research project is timely in exploring perspectives on camping management in New Zealand, as it may be able to contribute to future evaluations of the value of camping tourism, and potentially to a remodelling of the mobile camping tourism industry in response to global environmental changes in tourism.

7.6 Concluding thoughts

While this concluding section marks the destination for this thesis, it is merely the beginning of the journey towards understanding and conceptualising how camping is changing in New Zealand. In a field dominated by place-based conceptualisations of camping, the use of the mobilities approach in this research represents a new way of understanding camping in the Mackenzie Basin and Waitaki Valley. Furthermore, this project provides a unique contribution to the mobilities literature by applying Cresswell (2010)'s concepts of representation and movement to camping manager perspectives. In doing so, this research

also paves the way for future research to use this framework, or elaborate on it by including Cresswell (2010)'s third component of mobility, practice.

Looking to the future of camping management in the Mackenzie Basin and Waitaki Valley, it will likely continue to change and evolve. However, understanding how camping practices are viewed by camping managers presently can contribute to planning effective strategies for camping management in New Zealand into the future. Just as the increasing popularity of coastal freedom camping in the mid-20th century led to increased regulation and commercialisation of campgrounds, the present research has identified a need—and potentially an opportunity—for changes to current camping management approaches in line with the increased mobility of camping in the 21st century. The current camping landscape is perceived by the camping managers to allow the campers a great deal of freedom and power, which is likely a major contributor to the popularity of freedom camping. However, this power also enables the campers to control the future of camping in New Zealand, while camping managers and local and central governments are in a constant state of reaction. As such, policy-makers at various scales need to plan effective changes to camping management in New Zealand, and give local governments, camping managers, campers and communities the tools for success. The recent MBIE funding boost to local governments to prepare for tourism and freedom camping is progress in the right direction in terms of being proactive towards camping issues (Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, 2019b). However, as Allis (2017) explains, a "business-as-usual" approach of continuous investment in hypermobility and car-reliant tourism can sometimes exacerbate issues, as "although the construction of major highways generates more connectivity and accessibility, it can also lead to uncontrolled occupation of areas with tourist potential" (p.200). Consequently, the results of this research suggest that larger-scale change to the fundamental approach to camping management—from regional to national, and from static to mobile—is needed in order for communities and campers alike to effectively and sustainably continue to enjoy camping in New Zealand.


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Appendix A

Campground Inventories: Descriptive Table

A.1 Waitaki Valley Site Summaries

No.	*Campground Name*	*Nightly rate (2 adults, non-powered, summer)*	*Facilities*	*Site Description*
01	Harbourside Holiday Park 	$40	Full facilities, including paid Wifi, kitchen, laundry, dump station, toilets and showers.	A small gravel area beside the road overlooking Oamaru harbour. The site appeared to be well set up for vehicle-based camping.
02	Oamaru Top 10 	$40	Extensive facilities, including playground, spa, TV room, Wifi and mini golf - as well as the basics (laundry, kitchen, dump station, toilets and showers).	A small campground next to the botanic gardens with a mixture of gravel and grassed sites. The site was tidy and conveniently close to Oamaru town, but also between a road and railway. Compared to other lakeside camping opportunities in the area, this site was not very scenic.

03	Oceanview Oamaru 	$25	Limited facilities (drinking water, powered sites being installed).	Although not open yet, this campground will be grassed sites with drinking water and power. Being right on the beachfront, it was quite scenic. It is also cheaper than the other camping options in Oamaru, so might appeal to those not needing to pay for full facilities.
04	Waitaki Waters 	$28	Full facilities, including kitchen, laundry, playground, paid Wifi, toilets and showers.	A large grassed site situated where the Waitaki River meets the sea. There were some semi-permanent caravans and mobile homes on-site in winter, and several dogs. The campground's slogan is "A fisherman's paradise!". The low price, convenient location for fishing and full facilities would make it ideal for Kiwi fishing families.
06	Duntroon Domain 	$20	All the basic facilities, including bins, drinking water, toilets, powered sites, and kitchen.	A medium grassed site, suitable for tents or vehicles. Just four of the sites are powered, and the facilities are small and basic. A caretaker lives on-site in a mobile home, but registration is by cash or online banking. There are limited recreational opportunities in the immediate vicinity.
07	Kurow Holiday Park	$34	Extensive facilities, including kitchen, laundry,	This is a large river-side site, suitable for a variety of camping-styles. There were a large number of on-site caravans in one

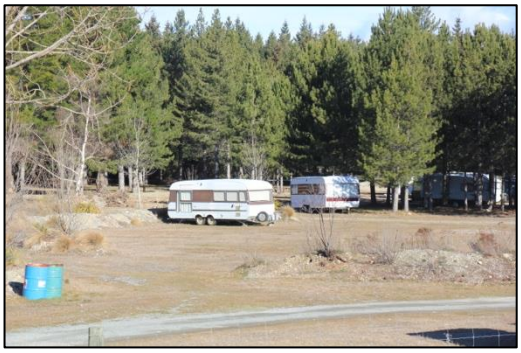
			showers, dump-station, wifi, playground, and swimming hole.	area. The campground had a “family-feel” to it, with dogs being welcome and lots of space and facilities for children such as a playground and a swimming hole with a slide.
10	Parson’s Rock Reserve 	$25	Limited facilities, such as bins, toilets, and a boat ramp.	This site is one of the many summer camping sites run by the Waitaki District Council. It is a large, grassed area beside the road and on the lakeside amongst pine trees with very basic facilities.
12	Boat Harbour 	$25	Limited facilities, such as bins, toilets, and a boat ramp.	A small, basic site not far from Omarama. The site appeared to be based around the boat-ramp, with the site itself being less important than the lake access. The site is adjacent to a waste water disposal area for Omarama.
13	Wildlife Reserve 	$25	Limited facilities, such as bins, toilets, and a boat ramp.	A basic Waitaki District Council site at the base of Lake Benmore Dam. The area seemed most suited to vehicles and caravans, due to the lack of grass.

14	Loch Laird 	$25	Limited facilities, such as bins, toilets, and a boat ramp.	A large grassed area with trees and very basic facilities at the base of Lake Benmore Dam. Once again, the main attraction of this area would be the lake, as the Dam detracts from the scenic value of the site.
15	Sailors Cutting 	$25	Limited facilities, such as bins, toilets, and a boat ramp.	A very large grassed area with lots of pine trees, directly adjacent to Lake Benmore and State Highway 83. This site appeared to be favoured over other Waitaki District Council campgrounds, as there were signs of returning campers such as hand-made wooden signs.
16	Lake Benmore Holiday Park 	$40	Full facilities, including drinking water, powered sites, kitchen, laundry, and ensuite toilets and showers.	A small campground across the highway from Lake Benmore. A unique feature of this campground is that each site has a designated toilet and shower block or 'ensuite'. This might appeal to tent or caravan campers wanting more comforts than the basic Waitaki District Council sites offer.
17	Omarama Top 10	$45	Extensive facilities, including showers, powered sites, kitchen, laundry, tv room, wifi and a playground.	A very tidy site at the junction of State Highways 83 and 8. The campground appeared to be able to accommodate a variety of camping styles. There is no 'natural' attraction to stay here (such as being next to a lake,

				mountain, or the sea). The main attraction is likely the fact that it is on the popular tourist route to Queenstown.
18	Ahuriri Bridge 	Free	Facilities limited to 2 long-drop toilets.	A large area on the side of the State Highway, adjacent to a river and road-bridge. This Department of Conservation campground is highly controversial for the community as it is very popular in the summer for vehicle-based camping. This is likely because it is free, and one of the last sites before the Lindis Pass (on route to Queenstown).
19	Quailburn	Free	Facilities limited to one long-drop toilet.	Grassed area in front of a historic woolshed on the Alps 2 Ocean Cycle trail. This Department of Conservation site is approximately 20km from State Highway 8 on a gravel road, which might discourage some campers. The campground did not appear to be very popular, as it had no reviews on Rankers.

A.2 Mackenzie Basin Site Summaries

No.	*Campground Name*	*Nightly rate (2 adults, non-powered, summer)*	*Facilities*	*Site Description*
20	Benmore Views Family Camp 	$40	Limited facilities, including toilets, coin-operated hot showers, dump station and boat ramp.	Large grassed campground on the shores of Lake Benmore, approximately 15km from State Highway 8 on a partially unsealed road. This campground seems to be mostly set up for New Zealand families in the summer, with a season pass available for $580, and priority site choice available for campers who bought a season pass the previous year.
21	Ohau C Camp 	$20	Facilities limited to bins, toilets, a dump station, and a boat ramp.	Medium-sized grass area opposite the Ohau Canal and directly below a hydro-power station. Being 20km from the highway on a gravel road, this campground is probably not ideal for some campers. This campground seemed to be centred around the fishing and boating opportunities, with little offered in the way of facilities and amenities.

22	Lake Ruataniwha Holiday Park 	$40	Full facilities, including showers, powered sites, kitchen, laundry, Wifi, and playground.	Very large site on the lakefront surrounded by lots of pine trees. There is a slide into the lake and boat access nearby. There are also a large number of on-site caravans and caravan storage.
24	 Lake Middleton	$16	Limited facilities, including toilets, dump station and a boat ramp.	This campground was right on the edge of the lake and surrounded by pine trees. It was a medium grassed area suitable for a variety of camping styles. This campground must be quite seasonal, as the toilets are closed over winter and the fees are also free over winter.
25	 Round Bush Campsite	Free	Facilities limited to two long drops and a boat ramp.	A medium grassed site surrounded by beech forest, approximately 25km from the highway. This site is directly on the edge of Lake Ohau, with plenty of water-based activities as well as nearby walking tracks.
26	Twizel Holiday Park 	$44	Full facilities, including showers, powered sites, kitchen, dump station, laundry, Wifi and playground.	Small, tidy site in the middle of Twizel township. A combination of grassed and gravel sites. Sites are clearly marked out and quite small, so perhaps not suitable for a large tent or motorhome.

27	Lake Poaka 	Free	Facilities limited to two long drops.	Very large campground next to a stream. The site is accessed by a gravel road just off the highway. The fact that the site is free, has a large capacity and is close to the highway could make it popular.
28	 Lake Wardell	Free	Facilities limited to toilets only.	A large grassed site directly adjacent to the highway and a canal. This site would be ideal for fishing in the canal or staying overnight on the way to Queenstown or Aoraki Mt Cook. Plenty of space for a variety of campers.
29	Lake Pukaki Overnight Camping 	Free	Facilities limited to four newly built toilets.	This campground is on the lakefront of Lake Pukaki, just a short distance from the state highway. It is a very large gravel area which could accommodate a large number of vehicles. The site is for self-contained vehicles only, but the road-sign has a symbol of a tent which might confuse campers.
30	The Pines	Free	Facilities limited to cellphone coverage.	I did not visit this site, but the limited information on camping apps and Google describe a very large gravel area on the shore of Lake Pukaki with no facilities.

31	 Glentanner Holiday Park	$44	Full facilities, including showers, 60 powered sites, kitchen, laundry, Wifi, and an outdoor kitchen and BBQ area.	This campground is very large, with a variety of grassed and gravel sites. The facilities are large and recently updated, offering a high capacity. Close to shore of Lake Pukaki, and a short drive to Aoraki Mt Cook National Park.
32	White Horse Hill Campground 	$30	Limited facilities, including toilets, bins, drinking water, and a basic kitchen.	This campground is a large gravel area, with some grassed sites. It is located right at the start-point of a variety of popular walking tracks in Aoraki Mt Cook National Park.
34	Tekapo Holiday Park	$50	Extensive facilities, including showers, powered sites, kitchen, laundry, Wifi, a TV room and a playground.	This is a large campground directly opposite Lake Tekapo and next-door to Tekapo Hot Springs and Mt John Observatory. It includes a mixture of grassed and gravel sites, as well as some recently installed Electric Vehicle sites. The lakefront sections are slightly more expensive than the back sections.

35	 Lake Alexandrina	$20	Facilities limited to toilets, showers and non-potable water.	Small lakeside campground amongst fishing huts and baches. This campground is reasonably far from the main highway through a gate and down a gravel road.
36	Lake McGregor 	$20	Facilities limited to a long-drop toilet.	Small lakeside campground with limited facilities and many permanent on-site caravans. Newly installed long-drops and sinks.
37	 Lake Tekapo NZMCA Park	Information not available.	No facilities, other than cellphone coverage.	A large grassed site on the shore of Lake Tekapo. This campground is not sign-posted from the road or publicly advertised online, as NZMCA sites are not accessible to the general public.
38	NZMCA Ohau B Canal Park	Information not available.	No facilities, other than cellphone coverage.	A small gravel site, adjacent to the state highway and the Ohau Canal. This campground is only accessible for NZMCA members, so is not sign-posted from the road or publicly advertised online.

				
39	NZMCA Awakomo 	Information not available.	No facilities, other than cellphone coverage.	A medium grassed site adjacent to the state highway. There are no facilities and few recreational opportunities. Once again, this site is not publicly advertised as it is only accessible by NZMCA members.

Appendix B

Stakeholder Analysis Tables

B.1 Preliminary Stakeholder Analysis

SECTOR	CATEGORY	*Mackenzie*	*Waitaki*
ACCOMMODATION	*Campgrounds and Holiday Parks*	- Fairlie Holiday Park - Lake Tekapo Motels and Holiday Park - Glentanner Holiday Park Mount Cook - Lake Ruataniwha Holiday Park & Motels - Lake Benmore Holiday Park - Twizel Holiday Park	- Omarama Top 10 Holiday Park - Waitaki Waters Holiday Park - Harbour Tourist Park, Oamaru - Kakanui Camping Ground - Herbert Forest Campground - Moeraki Boulders Kiwi Holiday Park - Otematata Holiday Park & Lodge - Dansey's Pass Holiday Park
	DoC Campsites	- White Horse Hill Campsite	
	Hotels, Motels, B&Bs, Lodges	- Aorangi Motel Fairlie - Musterer's High Country Accommodation - Pinewood Motels - Mackenzie Motel	- Ahuriri Motels - Countrytime Hotel - Heritage Gateway Hotel – Omarama - Bigsky Motels - ASURE Sierra Motel

		- Fairlie Hotel - Apartment @ Red Stag Restaurant - Quirky Cottage - Gladstone Grand Hotel - Allandale Lodge B&B - Eco Friendly Star Gazers Paradise - All Seasons Lodge B&B - Mount Dobson Motel - Burkes Pass Accommodation - Peppers Bluewater Resort - Lake Tekapo Village Motel - Lake Tekapo Motels and Holiday Park - Mantra Lake Tekapo - The Mackenzie Apartments - Parkhead Motels - The Chalet - The Godley Hotel - Moonlight Guest Accommodation - Lakefront Lodge Backpackers - Blue Lake Lodge - Starlight Guest Cottage - Tekapo Heights - Mt Cook Lakeside Estate & Retreat, New Zealand Luxury Lodge - Lakestone Lodge - Glentanner Holiday Park Mount Cook - The Hermitage Hotel Mount Cook - Aoraki Court Aoraki/Mt Cook Village - Aoraki Mount Cook Alpine Lodge - Mt Cook Lodge and Motel	- Otematata Eatery, Bar & Lodging - Otematata Lakeside Apartments - Otematata Country Inn - Midway Motels Oamaru - Brydone Hotel Oamaru - Criterion Hotel Oamaru - Empire Hotel Backpackers - Poshtel - Bella Vista Motel Oamaru - Oamaru Motor Lodge - AAA Thames Court Motel - Colonial Lodge Motel - Eden Gardens Motel - Asoct Oamary Motel - Northstar Motel - Heritage Court Motor Lodge - Boots & Jandals Hotel Omarama -

		- Mt Cook Chalets - Lake Ruataniwha Holiday Park & Motels - Matuka Lodge - Mountain Chalet Motels - The Lakes Motel Twizel - Mackenzie Country Hotel - Rosedale Cottages - Aoraki Lodge - Pukaki Air Lodge - Colonial Motel Twizel South Canterbury -	
	Backpacker, Budget, Hostels	- Lake Tekapo Budget Accommodation - Tailor Made Tekapo Backpackers Hostel - YHA Aoraki Mt Cook Backpacker Accommodation - High Country Lodge and Backpackers Twizel -	- YHA Oamaru
TRANSPORT	*Bus services*	- The Cook Connection - Tekapo Taxis	- Pearsons Coachlines Oamaru - Ritchies Coachlines Oamaru
	Rental Vehicle Companies	-	-
	Trains		-
	Garages/Car Yards	- Mackenzie Country Motors - Twizel Auto & Marine Centre - Tekapo Auto Services	- David Mackay Autoworld Workshops - Hiway Autos Oamaru

		- High Country Auto Services - Carter's Tyre Service - Firestone Fairlie -	- Mortimers Garage - Ludemann Motors - Gillies Honda Service Centre - AA Vehicle Inspection Oamaru - Carter's Tyre Service - Bridgestone Tyre Centre - Beaurepaires Tyre & Battery Shop - Herbert Service Station & Garage - Duntroon Garage - Hakataramea Motors Ltd
ACTIVITIES/ATTRACTIONS	*Adventure Tourism (tramping, mountain biking, rock climbing)*	- Tekapo Adventures - Glacier Explorers - BeSpoke Bike Tours Lake Tekapo - Great Outdoors & More Fairlie (gear hire) - Jollie Biker Twizel - Mt Dobson Ski Area - Paddle Tekapo - Roundhill Ski Area - Tasman Valley 4WD Tours - Tekapo Jet - Alpine Guides Mt Cook - Alpine Recreation Lake Tekapo - Aoraki Adventures - Glacier Sea-Kayaking - Mt Cook Glacier Guiding - Tasman Glacier Heli-hiking -	- Awakino Ski Field - Ohau Snow Fields
	Local Attractions	- Gem Alpaca Stud - Earth & Sky Mt John Stargazing - Tekapo Star Gazing - Tekapo Springs - Silver River Stargazing - Lake Tekapo Farm Tours - Lord of the Rings Twizel Tour	- Oamaru Blue Penguin Colony - Moeraki Boulders - Whitestone Cheese Co Guided Factory Tours - Hot Tubs Omarama

		- High Country Salmon - Starlight Adventures - Water rides, Lake Ruataniwha - Back Country Adventure Tours Twizel - Lakeland Explorer Twizel - NZ Travel Adventure Guided Tours Twizel - Sir Edmund Hillary Alpine Centre - Pukaki Wine Cellar and Observatory - BlueShift Rentals Tekapo (photography hire)	
	Heritage and History (museums, art galleries, culture)	- Silverstream Gallery - Fairlie Heritage Museum -	- Vanished World Centre for Fossils & Geology - Kurow Museum & Information Centre - Whitestone City Oamaru - Steampunk HQ
	Scenic Flights/Trains	- Red Cat Biplane Flights - The Helicopter Line Twizel - INFLITE Experiences Mount Cook – Helicopter & Ski Plane Scenic Flights and Tours - Heliworks Mount Cook - Go Gyro Twizel -	- Glide Omarama - Heliventures Oamaru
	Tourist Shopping	- Aotea Gifts Tekapo - Naturally New Zealand Tekapo - Musterers Hut Café & Gift Shop - Kiwi Treasures & Information Centre Lake Tekapo - Three Creeks Burkes Pass - High Country Crafts Lake Tekapo -	-
	Wineries, Breweries, Eateries	- Alpine Restaurant Mt Cook - Burkes Brewing Co	- River T Winery, Kurow

		- Chamois Bar & Grill Mt Cook - Ministry of the Works – Bar and Eatery Twizel	
INFORMATION	*DoC Offices*	- Aoraki Mt Cook National Park Visitor Centre - Twizel DOC Office	- Oamaru DOC Office
	Visitor Centres	- Kiwi Treasures & Information Centre Lake Tekapo - Heartlands Fairlie Resource and Information Centre - Tekapo Springs Sales & Information Centre - Twizel Information Centre	- Oamaru i-SITE Information Centre - Omarama Information Centre - Kurow Information Centre
	Councils	- Mackenzie District Council, Fairlie	- Waitaki District Council, Oamaru
	Local tourism groups/town planners	- Mackenzie Tourism, ChristchurchNZ	- Tourism Waitaki, Oamaru
SERVICES	*Supermarkets/Cafes*	- Astro Café Lake Tekapo - Eat Deli & Bar Fairlie - Fairlie Bakehouse - Greedy Cow Lake Tekapo - Old Mountaineers Café, Bar & Restaurant Mt Cook - Twizel Bakery Cafe - Tekapo Four Square - Fairlie Four Square - Twizel Four Square	- New World Oamaru - Countdown Oamaru - Kurow Four Square
	Petrol Stations	- McKeown Allandale CardFuel 24/7 - Mobil Twizel - BP Fairlie - Challenge Tekapo	- RD Petroleum Kurow - Caltex Kurow - Challenge Omarama - Mobil Omarama - McKeown CardFuel 24/7 Otematata

B.2 Priority Camping Stakeholders

		MACKENZIE DISTRICT	WAITAKI DISTRICT	CROSS-DISTRICT
PRIMARY STAKEHOLDERS	*Government representatives*	- Mackenzie District Council	- Waitaki District Council	- Department of Conservation - Land Institute New Zealand - Mackenzie and Waitaki Basins Responsible Camping Strategy Working Group
	Regional tourism organisations	- Mackenzie Region New Zealand	- Tourism Waitaki	
	Businesses	- Fairlie Holiday Park - Lake Tekapo Motels and Holiday Park - Glentanner Holiday Park Mount Cook - Lake Ruataniwha Holiday Park & Motels - Lake Benmore Holiday Park - Twizel Holiday Park	- Omarama Top 10 Holiday Park - Waitaki Waters Holiday Park - Harbour Tourist Park, Oamaru - Kakanui Camping Ground - Herbert Forest Campground - Moeraki Boulders Kiwi Holiday Park - Otematata Holiday Park & Lodge	

			- Dansey's Pass Holiday Park	
TOTAL		8	10	3
Total of 21				
SECONDARY STAKEHOLDERS	*Service providers*	- Heartlands Fairlie Resource and Information Centre - Tekapo Springs Sales & Information Centre - Twizel Information Centre - Tekapo Four Square - Fairlie Four Square - Twizel Four Square - Mobil Twizel - BP Fairlie - Challenge Tekapo	- Oamaru i-SITE Information Centre - Omarama Information Centre - Kurow Information Centre - Countdown Oamaru - New World Oamaru - Omarama Four Square - Kurow Four Square - Caltex Kurow - Challenge Omarama - Mobil Omarama	
	Other key informants	- (To be determined)	- (To be determined)	- Alps 2 Ocean Cycle Trail - (To be determined)
TOTAL		10	11	2
Total of 23				

Appendix C

Interview Materials

C.1 Interview schedule

Draft Interview Schedule

Opening:

The aim of this research is to understand how local camping stakeholders interpret the phenomenon of vehicle-based camping in the Waitaki Valley. This will include your personal and professional opinions on camping, your experiences with campers, and your vision of the future of camping in New Zealand.

This research is being undertaken as part of my Master of Applied Science degree at Lincoln University.

Vehicle-based camping:

Before we begin, I'd just like to define for you what I mean by vehicle-based camping. So vehicle-based camping is recreational mobile camping in or near a road-vehicle such as a campervan, caravan, car, or bicycle, in which the vehicle and regular movement are integral parts of the camping experience. This definition therefore excludes long-term camping – which involves little movement - and hiking with a tent – in which a road-vehicle is not integral to the camping experience.

Background:

So, first of all, I'd like to find out a bit about your organisation / business.

- Can you tell me a bit about your organisation / business / role?
    - Whereabouts are you located in the Mackenzie or Waitaki?
    - How many employees work for your organisation / business?
    - Can you summarise what the overall focus of your local organisation / business is?

- What role does your organisation / business play in vehicle-based camping tourism?
    - How important is vehicle-based camping management to your organisation / business compared to other tourism management issues in the area?

Patterns of camping in the Waitaki Valley and Mackenzie Basin

- What does vehicle-based camping look like in your district?

    - What form of camping do you most commonly encounter?
    - Would you say campers in your district are mostly international or domestic?

- In your opinion, why do campers visit the you area?
    - What do campers want?
    - What are the popular attractions in this area?
    - How does the area facilitate camping?
    - Do you think campers are satisfied with camping opportunities in your district?

- On the map provided, can you indicate where you think the most camping occurs?
    - Why do you think this is?
    - Is the camping dispersed (spread out) or condensed ? What are the implications of this?

Interpretations of camping

- Could you explain to me what the different types of camping in your district are?
    - How would you define freedom camping?
    - Are some types of camping preferable to others?

- How important is vehicle-based camping to your area?
    - What does it 'mean' or represent to your area?
    - How important is it in economic terms?

- What has changed in your district due to the increase in vehicle-based camping?
    - What has been lost?
    - What has been gained?
        - What is there ***to be*** gained?

Problems, opportunities, and adaptive measures

- How does vehicle-based camping in the your district affect you and your organisation / business?
    - What are challenges?
        - How have you overcome these challenges?
        - What strategies have you developed to deal with these challenges?
        - What strategies have you noticed other organisations and businesses employing to face these challenges?

    - What are the opportunities?

- In your opinion, has the increase in vehicle-based camping in your district over the past decade changed anything about your district?
    - What might have been lost in the process of change?
        - So for example, are there things you can no longer do now? Does the presence of vehicle-based campers or camping regulations restrict you in any way?
    - What can be gained from these changes?
        - Can you see any positive outcomes from the increase in vehicle-based camping? Is there a way we could harness that power for good?

- What do you think the implications of regularly moving campers are for the Waitaki Valley?
    - What are the benefits of movement?
    - What are the costs of movement?
    - Are regularly moving campers preferable to stationery campers?

Future of camping policy and planning

- Can you describe what you think the future of vehicle-based camping in New Zealand looks like?
    - Is this a desirable scenario? Why/Why not?

- Can you suggest any other possible solutions to improve management of vehicle-based camping in the Waitaki Valley, and across New Zealand, in the short term?

C.2 Research Information Sheet

Research Information Sheet

You are invited to participate as a subject in a project entitled: Reconceptualising camping in New Zealand: An exploratory study of stakeholder perspectives on evolving camping mobilities in the Waitaki Valley

The aim of this project is to contribute to understandings of how local tourism stakeholders interpret the phenomenon of vehicle-based camping in the Waitaki Valley and Mackenzie Basin. This is in response to the recent increase in vehicle-based camping tourism to the area, and the consequent negative reaction of the public to the perceived harmful impacts of this form of camping. While these tensions are evident across the New Zealand media, research on camping to date is dominated by the experiences of the campers themselves, and fails to examine the perspectives of local stakeholders – such as tourism operators and organisations, councils, and community groups. Such research will contribute to the currently limited understandings of local perspectives on vehicle-based camping in New Zealand. A wider implication of this research is that it may be applied to enable government, councils, and tourism stakeholders to form management solutions which allow tourism to prosper, while mitigating any negative effects on communities.

Your participation in this project will involve one semi-structured qualitative interview. You will be interviewed about how you define, interpret, and respond to vehicle-based camping in the Waitaki Valley. This will include the perceived problems and opportunities with vehicle-based camping in the area; the adaptive measures you may be taking to deal with this issues; and your envisioned future of camping in New Zealand. The interview should take approximately 1 hour.

If you are willing to participate in this research, you will need to reply to this email confirming your agreement to participate. Following this, an interview time and place will be arranged, and you will sign a consent form at the commencement of the interview. Ideally, the interview will be recorded using a recording device with your consent. If you are not comfortable with it, notes will be taken during the interview instead.

There are no foreseen risks in the performance of the tasks and application of the procedures for this research project.

The results of the project may be published, but you may be assured of your anonymity in this investigation: the identity of any participant will not be made public, or made known to any person other than the researcher, his or her supervisors, and

the Human Ethics Committee, without the participant's consent. To ensure anonymity and confidentiality the following steps will be taken:

1. Names and contact details will not be used as a part of data dissemination.
2. Pseudonyms or code names will be used in any written or oral presentation.
3. No individual identifying information will be presented in public.

Your participation in this research is voluntary. You may withdraw your participation and the information you have provided for the research by notifying the researcher (Niamh Espiner) by email **no later than one month after the interview was completed**.

The project is being carried out by:

Name of principal researcher: Niamh Espiner

Contact details: niamh.espiner@lincolnuni.ac.nz

She will be pleased to discuss any concerns you have about participation in the project.

***Supervisors*:**

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C.3 Consent form

Consent Form

NO.: _____

Name of Project: Reconceptualising camping in New Zealand: An exploratory study of stakeholder perspectives on evolving camping mobilities in the Waitaki Valley

I have read and understood the description of the above-named project. On this basis I agree to participate as a subject in the project, and I consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that anonymity will be preserved. I understand also that I may at any time withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information I have provided, up until one month after my interview was completed.

I consent to the interview being (please tick the box as appropriate):

(a) recorded on an audio device

(b) recorded by hand written notes

Name:

Signed:

Date:

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